AN

ESSAY

ON

THE COINS

OF

CUNOBELIN:

IN AN EPISTLE

To the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of CARLISLE, Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries;

WHEREIN

This Noble Set of COINS is claſſed, and appropriated to our BRITISH KING upon rational Grounds;

The Opinions of the Antiquaries on the Word TASCIA are examined and refuted, and a more probable one propoſed;

The COINS are illuſtrated in a ſhort Commentary;

And the various Uſes that may be made of them, in elucidating the Antiquities of this Iſland, and many Paſſages of the Claſſics, are briefly pointed out.

Two Plates are prefixed, wherein all the COINS are collected together in their reſpective Claſſes.

By SAMUEL PEGGE, A. M.

——— "Servit collecta Pecunia."——

To the whole is ſubjoined,

A Diſſertation on the Seat of the CORITANI;

Addreſſed to MATTHEW DUANE, Eſq; F. S. A. and F. R. S.

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THE author of this epiſtle has the greateſt regard imaginable for his friends Mr. Wiſe and Dr. Pettingal, being thoroughly ſenſible of their exquiſite and extenſive learning; for, as we antiquaries of the lower forms are bleſſed with no large portion of it, thoſe who ſit on a higher bench, and are poſſeſſed of an uncommon ſhare, are the more to be valued and eſteemed. 'Tis much for the honour of the ſociety it ſhould be ſo. Theſe gentlemen have diſplayed, both of them, a large fund of erudition in their reſpective diſſertations: This is a conceſſion no perſon of common candour can refuſe to make; but, nevertheleſs, as it is the baſis of the Antiquary Society to admit a modeſt and laudable freedom of debate (and indeed the ſubject of antiquities does as naturally lead to it as any other branch of knowledge whatſoever) it may be pardonable for any gentleman of the ſociety to vary in opinion from them, on points of ſuch very remote antiquity, as many that concern the Britiſh coins muſt be allowed to be: And ſo long as the reaſons for his diſſent are offered to the cognizance and arbitrament of the ſociety with temper, moderation, and decency, no member whatſoever, nor even the parties oppoſed, can with any colour of reaſon and juſtice take any offence. The two gentlemen above-mentioned, I can be confident, would be the laſt perſons diſguſted in ſuch caſe, as they have propoſed their particular notions and ſentiments with

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equal modeſty and learning; one declaring in the words of Livy, *Quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet* (1); and the other from himſelf, *In re tam incertâ quiſque per me ſuo jure utatur* (2). In reſpect of other authors, I need make no apology; and tho' I do not pretend to have turned into all thoſe numerous writers, who have treated on this period of the Britiſh or Roman hiſtory, which would be almoſt an endleſs taſk, and ſerve no good purpoſe; yet I hope the reader will perceive the antients have not been neglected, and that recourſe has been had to ſuch of the moderns as are eſteemed the beſt and moſt ſenſible authors; amongſt whom I reckon Mr. Horſeley, Mr. Carte, and the compilers of the Univerſal Hiſtory. Thoſe authors who have written expreſly on the ſubject, have been in general conſulted.

I ſhall add no more, but that the types or delineations are taken from Camden; the Earl of Pembroke's Numiſmata Antiqua; Dr. Pettingal's plate (from Mr. Duane's collection) prefixed to his diſſertation upon the word TASCIA; the ſecond edition of Dr. Battely's Antiq. Rutup. Oxon 1745, tab. VI. Mr. Wiſe, plate XVI. and Mr. Selden's Titles of honour, part I. c. viii. The true ſize of the coins is expreſſed in moſt of theſe editors, but not in Camden and Selden. As for the few coins that are not engraved, but only deſcribed, the authors of the reſpective deſcriptions are mentioned along with them.

(1) Dr. Pettingal, p. 9.
(2) Mr. Wiſe, p. 227.

TO

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

My Lord,

THAT Series of Coins, commonly called Britiſh, is attended, as to the generality of them, with the utmoſt difficulty and uncertainty. Some have doubted, whether they ought to be deemed coins or not; whilſt others, as Mr. Wiſe in particular, incline to think them not the coins of this iſland, but to appertain to ſome other country (1). But your Lordſhip muſt be ſenſible, theſe coins can be of no great uſe, tho' they are purchaſed by our antiquaries at a vaſt expence, until it be aſſuredly known they belong to us, and are truly the ſpecie of the original inhabitants of this land; nay, I preſume I may go one ſtep further, and aver, they will

(1) See his diſſertation in Numm. Bodl. Catalog. p. 225. ſeq.

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prove of very trifling ſignificance, unleſs we can even appropriate them, with a good degree of certainty, to the Princes who are their true and real owners; for all arguments drawn from them, relative to any diſputable point of antiquity, muſt, till then, be extremely vague and precarious. Thus, for example, ſhould a coin actually preſent us with the head of Caratacus, and another with that of Togodumnus; yet ſhould we not know they were the coins of theſe Princes, we could infer nothing from them, and whilſt they continued inveloped in their obſcurity, they would abſolutely be of no uſe or ſervice to us.

What I propoſe therefore in the following epiſtle is, to aſcertain the coins of Cunobelin upon ſome rational and at leaſt probable principles; and herein certain incidental matters of conſequence will be treated. I ſhall then deſcribe and illuſtrate them one by one in a ſhort commentary; which done, I may try what will be the reſult upon the whole in regard of our Britiſh antiquities; what light the coins may throw upon them, either directly, or by elucidating and confirming the relations of our antient authors concerning them. A laudable deſign, as your Lordſhip will eaſily grant, tho' difficult to execute; wherefore ſhould I miſcarry, I may yet ſay with Pliny the Elder, " Itaque etiam non-aſſecutis vo- " luiſſe abunde pulchrum atque magnificum eſt (1);" but if the principles I proceed upon ſhould happen to be ſo fortunate as to approve themſelves to the judgment of your Lordſhip, and the reſt of the learned world, the candid antiquary in particular, for whoſe purpoſe this

(1) Plin. N. H. in Præf.

eſſay

eſſay is more immediately calculated, I ſhall think my labour well beſtowed, in procuring to this ſuite of coins their natural uſe, the ſame as the coins of ſo many other nations obtain, and inveſting them with a rank and dignity by no means contemptible, tho' ſo little apprehended before; for, if I miſtake not, my Lord, this ſeries will prove a noble, comprehenſive, and even intereſting collection. The number of Cunobelin's coins, according to the notions I ſhall advance in this letter, is already great, the pieces here delineated and deſcribed being near upon forty, and in proceſs of time will probably be much greater, when new coins are diſcovered; and thoſe now latent in the cabinets of the curious are more generally brought to light. Gentlemen, in the preſent dark ſtate and condition of the Britiſh cabinet, have but ſmall encouragement to do this; but hereafter it is to be hoped, when ſome glimpſe of day-light begins to appear, they will be induced to open and communicate their treaſures. Certainly, it were much to be wiſhed, that theſe coins were either all in one hand, or could be all brought together, for the ſake of better comparing them; for, to apply the words of Horace,

—— "Servit collecta pecunia." ——

1 Epiſt. x. 47.

And ſhould I ſay, that if the coins adduced by our firſt antiquaries Speed and Camden, were re-inſpected with the ſame accuracy and care, which your Lordſhip's friend, Mr. Borlaſe, has uſed in viewing and reporting thoſe he

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has given us from Karn-Brê (1); no inconſiderable advantage would ariſe from thence, I dare ſay I ſhould be juſtified by the event.

But here, my Lord, I muſt go ſo far out of my way as to obſerve, that tho' I am perſuaded the coins of Cunobelin may upon rational grounds be aſcertained, and very material uſes may conſequently be made of them, yet I have a very different opinion of the reſt of this tribe; it being abſolutely impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, and in that uncertainty under which we labour, both as to their nation and their perſonal owners, to bring them to account, or to draw any valuable advantages from them. The far greateſt part of them affords us not one ſingle letter, and, in a general way of ſpeaking, where there is an initial ſyllable or two, there is no knowing, in this remote age, how to complete the word; nor whether it be the name of a prince or a mintmaſter, of a nation or a town. Inſomuch, that it is to be feared this numerous body of Celtic remains, to uſe that comprehenſive term, will continue in their obſcurity to the end of the world; for tho' antiquaries ſhould write about them and about them, their diſſonant and ill-grounded opinions would only ſerve to aggravate that perplexity, with which we are but too much embarraſſed already.

As for Cunobelin, in whoſe time it is ſuppoſed our Saviour Chriſt was born, he was an illuſtrious Britiſh prince, made ſo partly by theſe copious, laſting, and even elegant remains, and partly by being the father of Caratacus, a more illuſtrious ſon. The antients however have delivered little more concerning him, but that he

(1) Borlaſe, Antiq. of Cornwal, p. 242. ſeq.

had

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had two other ſons, Adminius and Togodumnus (1), and was living, according to Suetonius, in Caligula's reign (2); when, for ſome reaſon, now unknown, he drove Adminius out of his kingdom, who fled into the arms of that Emperor. From hence, it ſhould ſeem, he reached a good old age. It appears moreover, that he had other children beſides thoſe already mentioned, and that his ſeat was at Camulodunum. This is the chief of what the antients have told us in expreſs words, and yet Alford can name the very year when he aſcended the throne (3); wherefore all other particulars concerning him, his connexions with Auguſtus Cæſar, his intercourſe with the Romans, his towns, &c. muſt be derived from the coins, together with certain oblique notices relative to his affairs and times, in Strabo, Tacitus, &c. which we intend ſhall all have a place below. Conſidering then, my Lord, the figure this Prince makes on the coins, and the relation he ſtands in to us and our native land, it may well become an antiquary to inveſtigate every circumſtance that may poſſibly concern him, for the elucidation of his affairs in

(1) Suetonius in Caligula. Dio, Lib. LX.

(2) M. Weſtm. p. 45, ſays, Kimbelin died A. D. 22, early in the reign of Tiberius, and was ſucceeded by Guiderius. He follows the Britiſh hiſtory in this, and is himſelf followed by Alford, who reckons Guiderius to be Togodumnus. Alford, in conſequence of this, ſuppoſes Cunobelin to have driven his ſon Adminius into exile in Tiberius's time; for which, as he has no other foundation but what Matthew relates concerning the father's death, one knows not how to credit it againſt the authority of Suetonius. Alford pretends nobody mentions the time of Adminius's exile, but Suetonius evidently does.

(3) He reckons the 15th of Cunobelin to coincide with 1ſt of Chriſt, and 42d of Auguſtus, p. 3. So p. 6. he corrects Matth. Weſtm. for making Kimbelinus beget his ſons after the 10th year of his reign, ſaying, it ſhould be 19th.

particular,

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particular, and the general ſtate of the times. However, I ſhall endeavour to be as brief as the nature of the theme will admit; a point which I ſhall conſtantly keep in view, out of deference to thoſe multifarious engagements which a perſon of your Lordſhip's extenſive connexions muſt of courſe be involved in.

But a preliminary obſervation ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary here, as relating to the very exiſtence of theſe coins. Biſhop Nicholſon has ſtarted a notion, that they were never intended for money, but were rather amulets or charms (1); and Mr. Thoresby ſeems to concur with him (2): but if theſe antient remains, for antient they doubtleſs are, are really not coins, but ſomething elſe, 'tis in vain for us to think of proceeding any further. This matter muſt therefore be diſcuſſed. The Biſhop's words are, " Nor does it well appear that ever afterwards " [after Julius Cæſar] their [the Britiſh] Kings brought " in any [money] of another ſort. Camden ſays, he could " not learn that after their retirement into Wales, they " had any ſuch thing among them, &c." But with ſubmiſſion, this argument is of no force againſt Cunobelin; ſince, as will be ſhewn, the Britons were afterwards obliged to deſiſt from coining; by which means the art might be loſt, or perhaps neglected, the Britons enjoying in the later times a ſufficient quantity of the Roman ſpecie.

The Biſhop goes on to obſerve, ' We now have ſeveral " antient coins... which are generally reputed to be " Britiſh; though 'tis very hard to determine in what " age of the world they were minted." This, it is al-

(1) Nicholſon, Hiſt. Libr. p. 35. edit. fol. 1714.
(2) Thoreſby's Muſeum, p. 337.

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lowed, may be true of the greateſt part of theſe coins, but not of thoſe where the name of Cunobelin, or ſome abbreviation of it, is expreſly inſcribed. Theſe, methinks, we are as well aſſured are his, as we are, that the coins which bear the names of the Roman Emperors are theirs.

But nevertheleſs, the Biſhop, upon theſe principles, rejects Mr. Camden's ſtories, as he calls them, *of Cunobelin, and Queen Brundvica*, ſaying, they are much of a piece with Dr. Plott's Praſutagus; and then he declares openly, "for my part, I am of opinion, that never any "of the Britiſh Kings did coin money: but that even "their tribute money (like the Dane-gelt and Peter-"pence afterwards) was the ordinary current coin which "was brought in (or minted here) by the Romans them-"ſelves, as long as this iſland continued a province." He then ſays, "He takes the moſt (if not all) of the fore-"mentioned pieces to be . . . amulets," and then quotes this paſſage from Tho. Bartholin, "Habuere veteres in "paganiſmo res quaſdam portatiles, ex argento vel auro "factas, imaginibus deorum facie humanâ expreſſorum "ſignatas, quibus futurorum cognitionem explorabant, et "quarum poſſeſſione felices ſe et quodam quaſi numinis "præſidio tutos judicabant," adding, "theſe were in uſe "among the Romans a good while after they came into "Britain," and citing Spartianus.

But what! Cunobelin's coins are not to be put on the ſame footing with the reputed ones of Boadicea and Praſutagus; for theſe may be falſly attributed to them, as I believe they are, whilſt the ſpecie pretending to be Cunobelin's may be really and truly his. It will be debated hereafter, whether the Britons paid any tribute in money, or

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or not; at preſent therefore I only remark, that as to the Biſhop's ſuppoſition, that it might be paid in Roman money, this appears to me to be altogether impoſſible, ſince the *Vectigal* was impoſed by Julius Cæſar, when there was no Roman money in the iſland; and when paid afterwards, in Cunobelin's and Auguſtus Cæſar's time for example, there is as little reaſon to believe there was any there then. As to the paſſage from Bartholin, it is entirely beſide the purpoſe; for the author does not ſay the *things* he ſpeaks of were of the nature of money: they might be images or any thing elſe; and, I may add, with what propriety can any one argue from the practices of the Danes, to the Britons, ſo long before the former had any thing to do with our iſland? So again the quotation from Spartian amounts to little or nothing; for all he ſays, is, that at Rome in Caracalla's time, *ſuch were condemned as carried about their necks certain remedies againſt Quartans and Tertians.* But now the pieces here in queſtion were very unfit to be ſo carried, not one of them being ever ſeen with a hole, or a ring, adapted to that purpoſe, as is uſual in coins that have been worn about the neck (1). And whereas Serenus Sammonicus, a phyſician of note, lived in this reign, and in his book *de Medicina* has deſcribed certain medicines and charms to be worn about the neck, for the curing of the Tertian and the *Hemitritæum*, and particularly the *Abraſadabra* for a remedy againſt the latter, moſt people will think the remedies ſpoken of by Spartian were of that kind, were of the nature of Abraxas, or Abraſadabra, concerning

(1) Lord Pembroke, Part III. Tab. 109.

which

which ſee Montfaucon (1) and Fabricius (2); however, nobody will imagine they were at all like cups or amulets. Wherefore, to ſumm up all in a word, as theſe pieces have all the appearances of coin that can be deſired, with an obverſe and reverſe, I can ſee no reaſon why we ſhould not deem them ſuch. The name of Cunobelin written at length on ſome of them, clearly ſhews they can be no amulets, but muſt be money. The ſame may be ſaid concerning the initials of that name. Beſides, how ſhould ſuch quantities of theſe pieces be found together, as at Karn-Brê, upon the ſuppoſition of their being amulets (3)? To which I ſhall only add, how ſtrange it is, Cunobelin and his Britons ſhould imitate the Romans in the uſe of amulets alone, and not in their coins, which ſeems ſo much more natural and obvious? To ſpeak plainly, my Lord, your Lordſhip's learned predeceſſor at Carliſle has not acquitted himſelf with his uſual judgment and penetration on the preſent occaſion, but rather looſely and ſuperficially, to ſay no worſe.

All I ſhall note further in a general way, is, that moſt of theſe coins are diſk'd, more or leſs, with a concave and a convex ſide; that they are of various metals, gold, ſilver, braſs, but often extremely debaſed; and that an eminent antiquary has been ſo exact as to give us the weight of many of them (4). But little, I doubt, can be diſcovered from thence, the data concerning ſuch matters in theſe times being but few or none.

(1) Montf. II. p. 240.
(2) Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. I. p. 541. III. p. 81.
(3) Borlaſe, Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 242.
(4) Borlaſe, Antiq. of Cornwall.

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To enter now on the ſubject. The coins publiſhed and deſcribed by our authors, that can with any degree of certainty be thought the money of Cunobelin (1), are here brought together, for the ſake of affording us an advantageous view of them; and they may be commodiouſly diſtributed into the following arrangement:

I. Thoſe that preſent us with the King's name only, or ſome abbreviation of it.

II. Such as bear his name with a place of coinage.

III. Such as afford us his name along with TASCIA, or ſome abbreviation of that word.

IV. Thoſe that exhibit the King's name along with TASCIA, and a place of coinage alſo.

V. Thoſe that have TASCIA only.

VI. Thoſe that give us TASCIA with a place of coinage.

This diſtribution, 'tis preſumed, will be juſt, and, we hope, uſeful, let what will be the ſenſe and meaning of the word TASCIA or TASCIO; it will probably ſerve for all coins of this King, that yet may lie hidden in the cabinets of the curious. For my own part, to come cloſer to the point, I eſteem them all to be the coins of our famous Cunobelin, and I ſhall here endeavour to aſſure

(1) Coins are ſometimes conjectured to belong to this Prince, that have no medium in the word to connect them with him; as that in Thoreſby, p. 338.

them

them to him by certain arguments and obſervations; as alſo by removing ſuch difficulties and objections as may have been raiſed againſt his claim.

As to the firſt and ſecond claſs, a very ſhrewd remark has fallen from the pen of a very ſagacious and learned author: Mr. Wiſe acknowledges, that where we find CVNOBELIN or CVNOB, it may be the name of a perſon; but if there be only CVN or CVNO he is doubtful about it, ſince theſe may be the initials of ſome other word, of the name of a people or city for example. Something of the ſame kind was dropped formerly by Mr. Walker, "perhaps, ſaid he, CVNO, ſignifying (as Camden obſerves) a "Prince, may be applied (eſpecially ſince many coins "have no more than CVNO) to divers Princes, as it is added to the end of the names of ſeveral, mentioned in "Gildas (1)." Mr. Wiſe obſerves further, that he does not remember ever to have ſeen CAM or CAMV on the ſame coin with CVNOB, but only with CVN or CVNO, for which reaſon he does not affirm there was any connexion between CAMV and CVNOBELIN; and why, ſays he, on the contrary, may not CAMV be the name of a man, and CVNO the name of a people or city? *Camulus* is the name of a deity worſhiped by the *Etrurians*, and perhaps by the *Celtæ*. He imagines that coin in Speed's hiſt. p. 31 (2). with the letters CAMV, and on the reverſe CVNO, may exhibit the head of this deity. Afterwards it might become a regal name. In like manner by CVN, the *Cunei*, a people of *Spain*, who are called by *Ptolemy Bætici Celtici*, may be intended, or *Cuniſtorgis*, a city of theirs, or the

(1) Walker in Camden, col. CXV.
(2) Camden I. No. 21.

Taru Cunonienſes of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, for Pere *Harduin* in his notes on *Pliny*, Lib. III. ſeems to have rejected the firſt ſyllables *Taru*. Mr. Wiſe afterwards, p. 227. mentions the city *Cunetio*. He concludes, " Seu ergo Cuno-" belin Taſcio Cunobelinum Taſcodunorum, ſeu Britan-" niæ, regem interpretari velint eruditi, non multum " moror; in re tam incertâ quiſque per me ſuo jure " utatur (1)."

Theſe remarks are weighty, and intitled doubtleſs to a ſerious conſideration; and yet, I think, a ſatisfactory anſwer may be given to them all. Firſt, it appears from the third and fourth claſs above, that Cunobelin had a connexion with Taſcio, whatever ſenſe we put upon that word, for on ſome of them his name occurs, written at full length along with Taſcio; wherefore is it not more than probable, for we pretend not to demonſtration, that ſuch pieces as exhibit only CVN and CVNO with TASCIO muſt be his; and that theſe are plainly abbreviations of his name? Certainly, they ought not, by any rule of interpretation, to be taken for any thing elſe, for the name of a city or people, for inſtance, as this gentleman conjectures. The argument, my Lord, runs thus: Cunobelin is connected with Taſcio, and Cuno is connected alſo therewith, therefore Cunobelin and Cuno muſt be the ſame perſon.

By parity of reaſon, if coins with CVN or CVNO, when found in conjunction with TASCIO, be Cunobelin's, the other pieces, with CVN or CVNO alone, ſhould be his, tho' TASCIO does not appear. The caſe here ſeems to be equally plain; for if CVN or CVNO, in one inſtance, be the abbre-

(1) Wiſe, Catal. p. 226.

viation

viation of Cunobelin, it ought to be esteemed so in another, provided there be no particular reason to the contrary, as there is not here. Those coins again which present us with CVN or CVNO, and VER or CAMV, or some other word, must be deemed to be Cunobelin's, tho' TASCIO does not appear upon them; especially, if an interpretation can be put upon these initials, consistent with the affairs of Cunobelin, as may be done in this case. Now VER, we think, may stand very naturally for Verulam, and CAMV for Camulodunum, both of them known to be towns or cities within the precincts of this Prince's dominions; and HICV, we judge, must be a name of the same kind, tho' it be not so easy at this day to determine what place that was. As to Camulodunum, Dio expressly calls it the palace or principal seat of Cunobelin (1); and we know it was soon after made a Roman colony, and the first in Britain, a circumstance very favourable to the appearance of its name upon the coins. Camulodunum seems to take its name from the warlike deity, Camulus (2), worshiped in a peculiar and extraordinary manner there, as might well be expected from a prince of so martial a disposition as Cunobelin will be shewn to be. Mr. Baxter, I know, gives us a different etymology of the name, from *Cam a laün üi dun* (3); and

(2) Camden, col. 416. Montf. VI. p. 53. Alford, p. 6.

(1) Μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελίνου βασίλειον εἷλε. Dio, p. 781. speaking of Claudius.

(3) " Etymon hujus urbis planè Britannicum est; nam si solute scribatur, " *Cam a laün üi dun*, *Civitas* erit *ad Alauni* sive *Pleni amnis curvaturam*. At- " que hoc confirmant cognomina loca, et *Camalan* in Ostidamniis, et *Ca-* " *malon* apud Damnios in Valentia. Atque hinc quidem constat fluvium ho- " die

and Mr. Sammes thinks it comes from *Camol*, which in the Phœnician language ſignifies *a prince or governor*, and the old *Dun* a hill; ſo that Camulodunum may be called the King's hill, as Mons Capitolinus at Rome ſignified Jupiter's hill. But certainly, the above etymon appears ſo eaſy and natural, that one cannot but prefer it to Mr. Baxter's; and as to Sammes, Biſhop Gibſon writes, "How it will ſuit with the old altar inſcription, which "mentions CAMULVS DEVS, and with the coins which con- "firm it, I much doubt; and yet thoſe muſt be looked "upon as the beſt authorities;" by which it is plain his Lordſhip is in our party, as in reaſon he may, ſince it is ſcarcely credible the Phœnicians ſhould ever have had any thing to do with that part of the iſland where Camulodunum lay. But to return: It is inſinuated that CAMV may poſſibly be the initial ſyllables, not of Camulodunum, but of ſomething elſe, perhaps the name of a man, as CVNO may be the name of a people or city; and the allegation in ſupport of this notion is, that Camulus is the name of a deity, worſhiped by the Etrurians, and perhaps by the Celtæ. We admit every thing in regard to the god Camulus, but cannot avoid remarking, that the ſuggeſtion from thence is but barely poſſible; and moreover, that as we have cleared the matter ſufficiently in reſpect of CVN and CVNO, we have now all the reaſon in the world to expound CAMV, in ſome ſenſe that may be conſiſtent therewith; in a word, to take it for the

" die dictum de loco *Coloniam*, olim fuiſſe *Alaunum*. Spectabat hæc urbs ad " Trinoüantes Ptolemæi ævo; cum olim ſedes fuerit Cunobelini Icenorum " Imperatoris." Baxter, Gloſſ. in v.

(1) Camd. col. CIX. and 351.

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name of a place, and in particular of Camulodunum. Mr. Wiſe imagines the coin in Speed, with the letters CAMV, and on the reverſe CVNO, may exhibit the head of the god Camulus. But now allowing that Camulus might be a deity of the Britons in particular, as well as of the Etrurians and the Celtæ, it will by no means follow that the head in Speed repreſents him; on the contrary, it may ſeem demonſtrably plain it does not, becauſe this word CAMV is written along with an ear of corn in claſſ. II. no. 2. and 4. under an animal, a Hog, I ſuppoſe (1), in claſſ. II. no. 1. and under a Pegaſus in Lord Pembroke, claſſ. II. no. 6. This laſt is the more remarkable, becauſe this imaginary being, the flying horſe, is ſeen on a coin, with TASCE inſcribed underneath, and which gives us on the other ſide CAMV, within a laureate crown, claſſ. III. no. 2. The preſumption therefore is, that the head on the coin in queſtion repreſents ſome other perſon, and not the god Camulus; that moſt probably it is the reſemblance of Cunobelin himſelf, the abbreviation of whoſe name appears on all theſe ſeveral coins.

To ſpeak a word more in this place of this deity. The God of war ſeems to have had different names in various parts of the iſland; amongſt the Trinobantes or Cattuvellauni, to have been called Camulus; by the Brigantes, Belatucadrus; by the Coritani, Braciaca; and perhaps by others, Heſus or Eſus (2). Mr. Sammes, Mr. Selden,

(1) Compare Lord Pembroke, P. II. plate 94.
(2) Lucan l. 445. Lact. l. 21. Montf. II. p. 266, 270.

Mr.

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Mr. Hearne and Montfaucon (1), all take Belatucadrus to be the ſame as Belenus of the Gauls, or Apollo; but Mr. Baxter, who gives us the etymology of this barbarous word, eſteems him with more reaſon to be the ſame as Mars; and it is evident from an inſcription in Horſley and Gale, that he was ſo.

DEO MARTI
BELATVCADRO, &c. (2).

Hence Richard of Cirenceſter writes, p. 9. "Hinc Apollinem, Martem, qui etiam Vitucadrus appellabatur (3). Dr. Gale alſo, tho' at firſt he was of opinion Belatucadrus was the name of a river (4); yet afterwards ſeems to hint from this very inſcription, that he might be Mars, and preſents us with an etymology agreeable thereunto (5). Mr. Hearne, for his part, was aware of this explanatory inſcription, and therefore pretends that Apollo Sagittarius, for the aſſiſtance he is ſuppoſed to have given in military affairs, is therein ſtiled Mars Belatucadrus. But if the plaineſt and moſt expreſs monuments are to be explained away in this manner, they will prove of very little ſervice to us; and I would ſubmit it to your Lordſhip's deciſion, whether it be not infinitely more natural, and more con-

(1) Selden, de diis Syris. Synt. II. c. 1. Hearne, in Lel. Itin. I. p. 137. VIII. p. xviii. Montf. II. p. 268.

(2) Horſeley, p. 271. and Gale's Antoninus, p. 34.

(3) Certain places in the iſland, as appears from Richard, were named from Hercules; but theſe, we preſume, were in the poſt-Roman times.

(4) Gale, Comment. in Antonin. p. 33.

(5) "Agnoſco tamen alteram nuper Æſicæ detectam Belatucadrum "Martemque velut deum colere eundem, poſteriorque pars dictionis ali- "quid ſpirat iſtius numinis; cum *Cad* præſium, *Cader* caſtrum, & *Cadr* "fortis Britannice ſonent, quæ omnia Marti ſatis congruunt". Ibid. p. 34.

ſiſtent

ſiſtent with reaſon and common ſenſe, that Belatucadrus ſhould here be an attribute or ſynonyme of Mars, rather than that, on the contrary, Mars ſhould be an epithet of his; and indeed, according to this acceptation, Braciaca will be called Mars (and not Mars, Braciaca) in the inſcription which I am now going to adduce, and conſequently be a different deity from Mars, which yet nobody, I believe, will ever admit.

As to this Braciaca, the Romans had doubtleſs great concerns with the Peak of Derbyſhire; and in the grounds belonging to Haddon houſe.... was dug up this altar, cut in a rough ſort of ſtone, ſuch as the houſe itſelf is built of.

DEO
MARTI
BRACIACAE
OSITTIVS
CAECILIAN
PRAEFECT
TRO....
VS. (1)

This altar could not be found when Mr. Horſley enquired for it; however, the above inſcription was copied by Mr. Stonehouſe, Rector of Darfield, Com. Ebor. whoſe collection of antiquities at length came into the hands of Mr. Ralph Thoreſby of Leeds (2); and

(1) Camden, col. 592. The ſtone is the greet ſtone of the country; but the houſe is not built of that, to ſpeak of the whole of it, but of limeſtone.

(2) Biſhop Gibſon ſays, "They were purchaſed by Mr. Thoreſby of "Leeds," meaning Mr. John Thoreſby. The exact truth is, that, on the death of Mr. Walter Stonehouſe, who was a great ſufferer in the grand re-

 bellion,

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and this inſcription, I preſume, was communicated to Biſhop Gibſon by that gentleman. There were one or two more inſcriptions, which were broken and very imperfect, and without any direction, in Mr. Stonehouſe's papers, where they were found, inſomuch, that it is uncertain whether at Haddon or not. As to the inſcription before us, Mr. Horſley inclines to think Haddon might be called Braciaca in the Roman times (1); but I rather think it an epithet or local name of the God of war, like to Belatucadrus; and this I find is the opinion of Mr. Baxter, who writes, "Braciaca in Camdeni (2) inſcriptione *Mars* eſt; quaſi dicas hodiernâ Britannorum "ſcripturâ *Braichiauc*, ſive *Brachioſus*, & per hoc *præ*-"*validus*. Formâ hic erat forſan giganteâ, cum *Brachiis* "plurimis, quod in medio relinquimus." He ſuppoſes the word *Braciaca* may be formed of the Britiſh *Brachiauc*, from *Braich*, an arm, and ſo ſignify *Brachioſus*, that is, *prævalidus*; and thereupon conjectures, which is doubtleſs very ingenious, that the image of the deity might be a coloſſus, with a large number of arms. But be this as it will, I ſaw this altar at Haddon, where it ſtands under cover in the paſſage leading to the chapel, A. D. 1761, in company with ſome gentlemen of Bakewell; but the letters are now in a ſtate of evaneſcence, and we could but juſt make them out.

To return back to our ſubject: The connexion between Cunobelin and Camu appears, we think, moſt clearly, by

bellion, being both diſplaced from his living and impriſoned, they were bought by Thomas Lord Fairfax; after whoſe deceaſe, Mr. John Thoreſby bought them as part of that Lord's collection.

(1) Horſley, p. 318. and his map.

(2) Rather Biſhop Gibſon's inſertion in Camden.

the

the medium of TASCIA occurring with both. See the third and the ſixth claſs. And whereas it is noted, that by CVN may be meant the Cunei, a people of Spain, or Cuniſtorgis, a city of theirs, or the Cunonienſes, a nation of Gallia Narbonenſis; one has no reaſon to think ſo much old Spaniſh money, or ſpecie of Narbonne, as is marked with the letters CVN and CVNO, would be found here, or that the coin of thoſe countries was ſo neat and elegant as theſe pieces are. This conjecture is certainly too far fetched; and I ſhall here tranſcribe the words of Mr. Borlaſe, as containing an argument of weight and conſequence in reſpect of the true proprietors both of theſe, and others pretending and claiming to be real Britiſh coins.

" Now, ſays Mr. Borlaſe, all theſe coins from Camden " and Speed, are found in Britain in ſeveral places, many " in number, and the very ſame in no other country. " Their inſcriptions, and ſeveral others which might be " here mentioned, have either the firſt, or more ſyllables " of Britiſh princes (1), cities, or people, nay, CVNOBELIN " the whole name; why then ſhould they not be Bri- " tiſh? If there be honey enough in our own hive, what " need have we to fly abroad, and range into the names " of neighbouring countries and kings to find out reſem- " blances in ſound, which are not near ſo exact as what " we find at home? Before we deprive our own country " of the honour of coining the money found here, one " would think it but reaſonable that there ſhould be pro- " duced from foreign countries, ſamples of the very coins

(1) Here, I doubt, this excellent author is wrong; but, however, it does not affect the argument.

" we find in Britain, and in greater number, as being " doubtleſs more plenty where they were ſtruck, than " any where elſe; but there is not one inſtance of coins " found abroad, which are of the ſame kind as what we " find here; altho' in Roman coins (which were not " coined by little particular ſtates, as the Britiſh muſt " have been) nothing is more common. It is very won- " derful that all the Gauliſh coins (for inſtance) corre- " ſpondent to ours in metal and workmanſhip, ſhould be " deſtroyed, and not one appear or be dug up in Gaul, " whereas in Britain they are numerous, which makes the " learned Mr. Wiſe (1), though dubious at other times, " conclude very juſtly, that no country has a better title " to the coining them than Britain (2)." In brief, my Lord, there is no room for the above ſurmiſes of Mr. Wiſe, ſince CVN and CVNO are ſo evidently connected with TASCIO in the third and fourth claſſes, a term which appears only upon the coins found in this iſland, and, I ſuppoſe, I may add, on thoſe of Cunobelin only.

But is it not ſtrange, your Lordſhip will ſay, no coins of Togodumnus, Caratacus, Adminius, or other Britiſh princes, ſhould be found, but only coins of Cunobelin (3)? I anſwer, there is nothing very extraordinary in this, all circumſtances conſidered. It appears from Suetonius, that Cunobelin was living in Caligula's time (4), and early in the next reign Britain was invaded by the Romans, after which, as it ſhould ſeem, the Britons were

(1) " Maximo ſane numero in hac inſula eruuntur, adeo ut nulla regio " poſſeſſionis jure magis eos (viz. nummos) ſibi vendicet?" Wiſe, p. 228.
(2) Mr. Borlaſe, p. 252. and again, p. 258.
(3) Wiſe, p. 226. Walker, in Camd. col. CXV.
(4) Sueton. in Caio, c. 44.

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not permitted to coin any more money; obſerve the words of Gildas, " Non Britannia, ſed Romana inſula " cenſeretur, et quicquid habere potuiſſet æris, argenti, " vel auri, imagine Cæſaris notaretur (1):" a paſſage that plainly excludes the pretended coins of Praſutagus, Boadicea, Arviragus, &c. and even of Togodumnus, Caratacus, and Adminius, the immediate ſucceſſors of Cunobelin.

I proceed now on the third and fourth claſſes, where I apprehend I ſhall have much to ſay, theſe claſſes being of the moſt importance, as ſhewing the connexion of Cunobelin with TASCIO, the medium of appropriation, whatever is the meaning of the word, and as being particularly ſubſervient to the allotment of the fifth and ſixth ſort to this Prince.

But here ariſes a grand queſtion, What is the ſenſe and meaning of this word TASCIO, ſo variouſly written, and with ſo many abbreviations? There are two different opinions concerning this word propoſed already. Theſe, my Lord, I ſhall diſcuſs; and afterwards ſhall offer another of my own.

The firſt and moſt antient interpretation is that of Mr. Camden and Dr. Powel (2), which has ſince been eſpouſed by many other writers (3), and of late has been ſupported with great learning by Dr. Pettingal (4). Mr.

(1) Gildas, p. 3.
(2) Camd. col. CIX. and 351.
(3) Baxter, Gloſſ. in v. et v. CUNOBELINUS, ARVIRAGUS. Thoreſby in Muſeo, p. 338. Univ. Hiſt. XIX. p. 130. Carte, p. 98. Alford, p. 4. Horſley, p. 15. W. Vallans, in Lel. Itin. V. p. XV.
(4) Diſſert. on the TASCIA, or Legend on the Britiſh coins of Cunobelin and others, printed by the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 4to. 1763.

Camden's

Camden's words are, that on the reverſe of the ſecond of Cunobelin's coins in his plate is, "The mint-maſter, with "the addition of the word TASCIA; which in Britiſh ſig-"nifies a tribute penny (as I am informed by David Powel, "a perſon admirably ſkilled in that language) ſo called, "perhaps, from the Latin *Taxatio*; for the Britons do not "uſe the letter x. And on the ſame account, we often "ſee MONETA upon the Roman coins."

Dr. Pettingal's firſt propoſition is, that the vectigal impoſed by Julius Cæſar upon the Britons, at the cloſe of his ſecond expedition to this iſland, "was called TASCIA in "the Britiſh language of the country, from *Tag*, the "prince, or chief, that collected and paid it to the Romans." The ſum and ſubſtance of his Diſſertation he afterwards gives us in theſe words, "The meer Engliſh word *Tax*, "is perhaps a corruption of *Taſk*.—*Taſk* is derived from "*Taſcia* of the antient Britons, and *Taſcia* was the "*vectigal* or tribute, paid by the *Tag* or Britiſh Prince "of each province, to the Roman conquerors (1);" whereupon it is neceſſary to obſerve, that as he calls it a tribute in this paſſage, ſo he elſewhere ſuppoſes it to be a pecuniary payment (2), and to be paid in a ſpecies of money coined for that particular purpoſe (3); and theſe indeed are the ſentiments of moſt of the other gentlemen cited above.

But now to canvaſs theſe principles and poſitions, and to bring them to the teſt of reaſon; does it not appear extremely forced and unnatural to thoſe who are not Bri-

(1) Pettingal, p. 9.
(2) Differt. p. 5. and ſee Alford, p. 2.
(3) Ibid.

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tons, and have but little ſkill in that language, that *Taſcia* ſhould grow, as Dr. Pettingal ſuppoſes, from *Tag*? Doubtleſs, a queſtion may very properly and very innocently be aſked, whether this deriſation be according to the uſual analogy of the Britiſh language? In ſhort, my Lord, it does not ſeem ſufficient in this caſe, to prove to us that the Celtic *Tag* ſignified a name of eminence among the Britons, which the Doctor, it muſt be acknowledged, has very ſatisfactorily done, ſince we want to be further convinced that *Taſcia* is regularly and idiomatically deduced from it. Certainly the proceſs of this extraordinary derivation ought to have been well illuſtrated and fully eſtabliſhed, ſince ſo much depends upon it, and it ſeems juſtly doubtful to an Engliſh ear.

But ſuppoſing for once, that the word *Taſcia* is canonically, and, according to the idiom of the antient Britiſh language, deducible from the word *Tag*, and that the Britiſh chief or Prince collected the tribute, as the Doctor advances; yet I doubt it will not follow, that the word TASCIA on the coins of Cunobelin muſt ſignify *Tribute*. In this conſiſts a wide difference betwixt the Doctor's notions and mine. 'Tis contrary, in my opinion, to uſage and the nature of things, for a ſpecies of money to be ſtruck meerly for the purpoſe of paying tribute; and there lies a ſtrong objection againſt this interpretation of the word Taſcia, upon that account. 'Tis true this ſenſe of the word is eſpouſed by great names(1), as has been noted; but it is nevertheleſs clogged, when it comes to be maturely conſidered, with many, and perhaps unſurmountable difficulties. The money advanced by the Jews for

(1) Wiſe, p. 226.

the

the maintenance and ſupport of the ſervice of the temple, was the current coin of the country, and not purpoſely ſtamp'd (1); and the tribute-money paid by that people to the Romans, after they were become a province, was the Roman coin current in Judæa (2), inſomuch that, without alledging any other inſtances, one may reaſonably demand an authority, or example of a ſpecies of money coined ſolely for the purpoſe of its being paid in tribute, in any nation. It was fancied, I know, formerly, that thoſe Anglo-Saxon pennies, ſtyled Peter-pence, were ſtruck for the making of the payment that was called by that name; but gentlemen are now convinced, that they are only Saxon pennies coined at York, and that the Peter-pence was always paid in the current ſpecie; as alſo was the Danegeld; and indubitably and univerſally, the common way of paying tribute, whenever it is done in money, is to diſcharge it in the current coin of the country, and not in a particular ſort ſtruck for that ſole end and purpoſe. But poſſibly it may be replied, that if the Britons had no money current amongſt them, but the firſt coinage was in conſequence of the *vectigal* impoſed by Julius Cæſar, their caſe was particular, and money might be fabricated for the purpoſe of paying tribute here, tho' proceedings were different in other ſtates. This objection will be conſidered below, where we ſhall have occaſion to ſpecify the nature of this *vectigal*, as likewiſe when, and by what means, the Britons firſt ſtamped money; and then it will be ſhewn, that the

(1) Matth. xvii. 24. ſeq.
(2) Matth. xxii. 17. ſeq.

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ſpecie firſt coined in Britain was probably for general uſe. At preſent I ſhall go on.

As the foregoing remark, that no nation ever ſtruck money for the meer purpoſe of paying it in tribute, ſeems to be of weight, does it not effectually preclude all endeavours of fixing a ſenſe of *tribute* upon the word in queſtion? and conſequently to explode that wild and groundleſs notion of Mr. Camden, "That, for the tribute "payable by the Britons, coins were ſtamp'd for the "greater cattle with a horſe, for leſſer with a hog, for "woods with a tree, and for corn-ground with an ear of "corn?" Mr. Wiſe very juſtly taxes him for this. Nor does that conception of Cardinal Baronius appear to be better founded, that the tribute money differ'd from the common money, and was altered according to the different quality of the tribute, when the common money continued the ſame as before (1). Theſe ſurely are ſtrange fancies, unworthy of the great authors concerned, and contrary to all uſual methods of proceeding.

The obſervation of the learned Mr. Wiſe, who is not more favourable to our antiquaries in their interpretation of the word Taſcia, than myſelf, ſeems to be of great moment. He aſks, where it was ever known, that money, every where eſteemed a mark of royalty and freedom, was ſtamp'd with ſuch a note of ſervitude upon it, as the word TASCIO implies, according to the ſenſe they give it? Mr. Camden indeed remarks, that we often ſee MONETA on the Roman coins, and it is confeſſed we do; but in thoſe caſes MONETA is an honourable word, as well it might be, ſince ſhe was enſhrined by the name of DEA

(1) Baronius in Camden, col. CXIII. See his opinion confuted by Caſaubon, Exerc. xvi. n. 10.

PECVNIA, in the figure of a woman holding a pair of ballances in one hand, and a cornucopia in another(1)? But how ill does this comport with Taſcio, in Mr. Camden's ſenſe of this term; according to which, it betokens nothing but ignominy and diſgrace? Certainly, there is ſomething exceſſively ſervile, incongruous, and even abſurd, in putting a word of ſuch a baſe import upon the Britiſh coins, as this people had not been in fact reduced to an abject ſtate; on the contrary, were but in a ſmall part, and that part very imperfectly ſubdued: nay, I may foreſtal what I ſhall prove hereafter, ſo far as to ſay, that the Britons, inſtead of being enſlaved in Cunobelin's time by the Romans, lived in great harmony and friendſhip with them.

Concluſive as theſe obſervations may ſeem to be, I would add, by way of ſupporting them further, if thought needful, that many of theſe coins are of braſs or copper; whereupon Alford obſerves, "Romanorum tamen cenſus "erat elegantior, nec ære, aut ferro ſolvendus." But what is more deciſive, braſs was not native then in Britain, we being expreſly told by Cæſar, concerning the Britons, *ære utuntur importato*(2). But now, my Lord, who would not ſuppoſe, if money was to be coined with the ſpecial view of paying tribute, that it would be in ſome metal of the country; tin, or lead, or iron? Indeed, one cannot imagine how a country ſo little engaged in commerce, as this iſland, more eſpecially the Eaſtern part of it, then was, could have any large quantity of a foreign metal in it. In the Weſt, where the tin was, and perhaps lead, I preſume there might be more

(1) Camd. Remains, p. 178.
(2) Cæſ. de B. G. l. V. c. 12.

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traffic with foreigners; but in the Eaſtern, or South-Eaſtern parts, they had only ſome little trade with the oppoſite continent of Gaul. Beſides, the Romans did not want braſs, tho' the Britons did; but ſuppoſing the Romans had occaſion for it, what the Britons could pay them this way muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince others of the coins with TASCIA, or ſome abbreviation of it upon them, are ſilver, and others gold. But had the Romans wanted this metal, bullion, or copper in the maſs, would have ſerved their purpoſe juſt as well, or perhaps better than coined money; for I much queſtion whether, if the tribute had been paid in money, ſuch money would have paſſed abroad; in Gaul or Italy, for example. We have no reaſon to think the braſs money of the Seleucidæ, or of the Grecian ſtates, ever paſſed current at Rome: the ſilver and gold indeed of the Eaſtern parts might have a currency there, as having a conſiderable intrinſic value; but the caſe was very different with copper or braſs. Upon the whole, my Lord, the tribute, upon this hypotheſis, ſeems to have been of a very aukward kind, ſince it muſt have proved of ſo little uſe to the receivers, whether kept in the form of coin, or melted down.

But as to the fact of this pecuniary payment, Julius Cæſar on his firſt expedition demanded nothing but hoſtages (1), which the Britons being negligent in ſending, this afforded him a pretence for his ſecond invaſion. At the end of this latter attempt, wherein he had been more ſucceſsful, and had penetrated further into the country, he impoſed a yearly payment, amongſt other articles,

(1) Cæſ. de B. G. l. IV. 27, 31, 36, 38.

upon the Britons, in the ſhape and under the name of a *Vectigal*, " Et quid in annos ſingulos *Vectigalis* Populo " R. Britannia penderet, conſtituit (1)." But now, my Lord, *Vectigal* does not neceſſarily imply a payment in money, as the writers on the ſubject will inform you (2); and tho' the words *Tributum* and *Vectigal* may be now and then confounded in leſs accurate authors (3); and later writers, when they ſpeak of this tranſaction, will call the impoſt in queſtion a tribute (4), and will even go ſo far as to ſpecify the exact ſumm that was paid, viz. 3000*l.* in ſilver (5); yet Cæſar was too great a maſter of the Roman language to uſe *Vectigal* for a pecuniary payment. Beſides, if the Britons had no coined money amongſt them at this time, as in all probability they had not (6), ſpecie or coin could not poſſibly be any part of this annual payment. The Vectigal conſequently to be paid by the Britons to the Romans, in conſequence of this impoſition, conſiſted of commodities of ſome kind or other; and in certain proportions of them, the aborigines of our iſland, at that juncture, being much in the ſame caſe with the natives of North-America at this day, who, were they to make any yearly payment to the Engliſh, would in all probability diſcharge it in Furs.

(1) Ibid. l. V. 22.
(2) Lipſius, de Magn. Rom. lib. II. c. 2. Bulengerus in Græv. Theſ. T. VIII. P. Buman. de Vectigal, P. R. p. 2.
(3) Burman, ibid.
(4) Matth. Weſtm. p. 45. Alford, p. 1, 2. Univ. Hiſtory XIX. p. 128, 129.
(5) Jeffr. Monm. IV. 10. MS. Chronicle, penes me. Fabian fol. XVIII. Alford, p. 2.
(6) See below.

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This Vectigal seems to have been converted afterwards into a duty upon exports and imports, paid in the ports of Gaul (1), which were the *Emporia*; Strabo telling us, concerning the Britons, τέλη τε ἔπως ὑπομένουσι βαρέα, τῶν τε ἐξαγομένων εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων ἐνθένδε· *That the Romans laid no heavy imposts upon them, neither on the articles exported from Britain into Gaul, nor on those imported from thence* (2). This custom or duty was totally different from a tribute, and he expresly distinguishes it therefrom, for he goes on, ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖν φρουρᾶς τῆς νήσου· τοὐλάχιστον μὲν γὰρ, ἑνὸς τάγματος χρῄζοι ἄν, καὶ ἱππικοῦ τινος, ὥστε καὶ φόρους ἀπάγεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν· εἰς ἴσον δὴ καθίστατο πᾶν τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρήμασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ μειοῦσθαι τὰ τέλη φόρων ἐπιβαλλομένων· ἅμα δὲ καὶ κινδύνους ἀπαντᾷν τινας, βίας ἐπαγομένης. *Insomuch, that there was no occasion for a garrison in the island. For one legion at least, and a body of horse, would be requisite, if tribute was to be levied there; and the expence of maintaining a garrison would run away with the whole of our receipts from thence; for the Vectigalia would necessarily be lessened, were the Britons to pay tribute; and if we were to use force in levying it, some danger might arise from thence.* Strabo writes much to the same purpose in another place, where he assigns this for the reason why the Romans in his time did not trouble themselves about making a conquest of Britain, πλέον γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῶν τελῶν δοκεῖ προσφέρεσθαι νῦν, ἢ ὁ φόρος δύναται συντελεῖν, ἀφαιρουμέ-

(1) Mr. Carte thinks the Romans had Publicans resident here. See him, p. 97. and 98; but quære, since there seems to be no better authority for this than Gildas, p. 3.

(2) Strabo, lib. IV. p. 200.

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νης τῆς εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δαπάνης, τὸ φερῆσον ἢ φορολογῆσον τὴν νῆσον· *For the Romans receive more now from the cuſtoms, than the tribute would amount to, deducting the charges of maintaining a military force to keep the iſland, and to collect the tribute* (1). And I think it highly probable, that at this time the *Portoria*, or cuſtoms upon exports and imports, were paid the ſame way, viz. by ſome ſhare or proportion of the commodities. But now, if this was the caſe, TASCIO or TASCIA, on the coins of Cunobelin, cannot in reaſon be thought to have any connexion with tribute or tribute-money, as the learned gentlemen above-mentioned have interpreted it. Mr. Baxter indeed ſays, after Mr. Camden, " Cudebantur ſane primi " Romanorum (I ſuppoſe he means here in Britain; but " quære, if it be not a miſtake of Romanorum for Britan- " norum) nummi quo portoria ſolverentur (2)". But this is not at all likely, for the reaſons above-given: he adds, " Et monetarii erant Romani", an aſſertion which I believe to be true, as will be ſhewn hereafter, but entirely inconſiſtent with his poſition, that the money firſt ſtruck in Britain was for the payment of the *portoria*, ſince the vectigalia and the portoria were probably paid before, and in another way.

Your Lordſhip, on this occaſion, will doubtleſs recollect, that, about the time of the nativity of our Saviour, Auguſtus Cæſar cauſed all the world to be taxed (3); but by this we are only to underſtand all the provinces of the Roman Empire, of which Britain was by no means in

(1) Strabo, lib. II. p. 116.
(2) Baxter, Gloſſ. v. TASCIA.
(3) Luke ii. 1.

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the number; wherefore, when Nennius says, "In tem-"pore illius [Claudii] quievit dari censum Romanis a "Britannia, sed Britannicis imperatoribus redditum est 1)," one hardly knows what to make of it. Certainly, if any regard be had to what has been so lately alledged from Strabo, one would think tribute had rather begun to be paid, than ceased, in this Emperor's reign, whom Nennius, in the same place, calls the conqueror of Britain (2), and says, he even subjugated the Orcades, and made them tributary: nay, 'tis clear from Tacitus, that from this date the Britons actually did pay tribute, "Ipsi Britanni, "says he, delectum, *ac tributa*, & injuncta imperii mu-"nera impigre obeunt, si injuriæ absint (3)". And Galgacus, speaking to his troops, says of the Romans, "Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt; in annonam "frumentum (4);" wherefore I cannot help thinking, that if the MSS. would countenance (but I do not find any various reading) we ought to read *assuevit* in Nennius, or some such word, instead of *quievit*; whereby the sense would be, that in the reign of Claudius, tribute began to be paid by this island to the Romans, being paid to their Generals that commanded here, meaning Aulus Plautius and his successors.

These, my Lord, are the reasons that induce me to conclude, in respect of the common notion concerning the word TASCIA, on the coins of Cunobelin, that it cannot be the true one; or in other words, that these coins

(1) Nennius, c. 17.
(2) So also Pomp. Mela, III. 6.
(3) Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 13.
(4) Ibid. c. 31.

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were not ſtruck merely for the purpoſe of being paid in tribute to the Romans. On the contrary, as the Roman money was not current in Britain in any quantity, nor the iſland fully ſubdued, at this time, Cunobelin, and the other Britiſh Princes, I am of opinion, coined money in their own right, for their own and the common uſe of their ſubjects; and the coins in queſtion I eſteem to be of that ſort. 'Tis doubted indeed, by Mr. Wiſe, whether the petty Kings of Britain put their effigies upon their money (1); and in truth, we have no certain evidence of any but Cunobelin that did ſo; but claſſ. I. 1. II. 1. IV. 1, 2, 3, all of them Camdenian coins, preſent us with the head of this Prince very evidently. There is a doubt alſo ſtarted about the right allowed by the Romans to the nations they had conquered (2); but this does not reach the money of Cunobelin (3), who never was ſo totally ſubjected by the Roman arms, as to be reduced to the ſtate of a provincial vaſſal (4), but only ſeems to have conſented, for the ſake of peace and quietneſs, to pay the vectigal or portorium (5).

I come now in the next place to Mr. Wiſe's opinion: This gentleman, diſſatisfied with the commonly received notion concerning this word TASCIA, has propoſed an opinion of his own, which I ſhall here report (and the rather, as it ſeems not to be generally known) with a ſhort confutation. He inclines to look out for the name of ſome

(1) Wiſe, p. 225.
(2) Idem, p. 226. bis.
(3) Camden, col. CXIII.
(4) Plott, Nat. Hiſt. Oxfordſh. p. 312, ſeq. Univ. Hiſt. XIX. p. 129. and in Not.
(5) Tacitus, Vit. Agric. c. 13.

people

people or ſtate in that term; and in Pliny III. c. 4. he finds Taſcodunitari, Cononienſes, a people of Gallia Narbonenſis, which father Harduin from the MSS. reads Taſcoduni Tarucônienſes, and therefore he conjectures CVNOBELIN TASCIO may perhaps mean Cunobelin Taſcodunorum (1). But this does not appear to me to be what they call a happy conjecture; for tho' 'tis more than probable the Gauls had a ſpecies of money not greatly unlike our Britiſh pieces (2), and Peireſkius informed Mr. Camden they had ſuch (3); yet this does not affect either our Britiſh coins in general, or thoſe with TASCIO in particular, becauſe, in ſome of theſe coins, as in claſſes third and fourth, the name of CVNOBELIN is actually joined with TASCIO, or ſome of its abbreviations; and yet this King had nothing to do with any ſtate or people of Gallia Narbonenſis. And we know of no place of the like ſound in that part of this iſland where he is ſuppoſed to have reigned.

But have you, methinks I hear your Lordſhip ſay, any thing more plauſible to offer than the notions you have been exploding? That, my Lord, is as it may prove; for here, and in this reſpect, I find myſelf exactly in the ſame circumſtances with theſe learned men. The ſubject is very remote in time, is dark and difficult in itſelf, and has been rendered more ſo by the preceding conjectures. Conjecture, to ſay truth, reaſonable and well founded, is all that can be tendered in the caſe, and conſequently is the moſt that can be expected from me; and as I have a con-

(1) Wiſe, p. 227.
(2) Montfaucon III. p. 56.
(3) Camd. col. CIX.

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ception, which appears to me to be of this ſort. I ſhall produce it to your Lordſhip, though with all becoming diffidence, ſubmitting it, as I freely do, to your Lordſhip's candour and deciſion.

To begin then; it appears from the irrefragable teſtimony of Julius Cæſar, when rightly underſtood (for the paſſage has been ſtrangely perverted and miſtaken by many) that before his arrival in Britain, the inhabitants of the iſland had no coined money amongſt them. For the account he gives of this matter, even after his ſecond expedition, is this: "Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis "ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo (1)." This Biſhop Gibſon in Camden renders, "The money uſed by "the Britains is braſs, or iron rings, at a certain weight, "inſtead of it (2)." Profeſſor Duncan thus: "They "uſe braſs money, and iron rings of a certain weight (3)." and Mr. Borlaſe to the ſame effect: "The Britons uſe "either braſs money, or iron tallies inſtead of money (4)." Theſe gentlemen appear to me to follow an old diſcarded reading, *autem nummo æreo.* The caſe is plain in reſpect to Mr. Borlaſe, tho' not of Mr. Duncan, who therefore is the more to be blamed; however, they all reſtrain the word *examinatis* to the *annuli*, or *taleæ*, or *laminæ*, the things laſt mentioned, by which means they give us

(1) Cæſar de B. G. v. c. 12. This is a much controverted paſſage in reſpect of the reading; but the three beſt editions of Dr. Davies, Dr. Clarke, and Profeſſor Oudendorp, all agree in reading *aut ære*, or *autem ære*, which is the only part of the ſentence I am concerned with here.

(2) Camden col. XLI.

(3) Duncan's tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries, Lond. 1755, 2 vol. 8vo.

(4) Borlaſe, Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 249. See him again, p. 253, 254.

to

to underſtand, that the Britons at this time, according to Cæſar, were really poſſeſſed of braſs money (1). But with all due ſubmiſſion to theſe great men, this paſſage of Cæſar ought to be tranſlated thus: "For money, they "uſed either pieces of braſs, or iron tallies, adjuſted to a "certain weight," meaning, that the pieces of braſs were unſtamped, as well as the iron tallies, and only reduced to ſome certain ſtandard in reſpect of weight; for the word *examinatis* refers both to the pieces of braſs and the iron tallies. The former were conſequently blank; and indeed, had the Britons known how to have given them an impreſſion, no valid reaſon can be aſſigned, why they did not ſtamp their iron alſo (2). Beſides, it is well known, that the firſt money was in this rude condition in other countries as well as Britain, and was eſtimated by weight (3).

Caſſivellaunus was the Prince whom Cæſar had chiefly to deal with, and therefore whoever maturely conſiders the teſtimony here adduced, and the ſenſe I have given it, will have abundant reaſon to ſuſpect that our antiquaries, Speed (4), Plott (5), Walker (6), Lhuyd (7), and Borlaſe (8), muſt be miſtaken in appropriating coins to him,

(1) And yet Mr. Camden himſelf is of a different opinion. See him, col. CCCLII.

(2) For that they could do this, ſeems plain from that iron piece in Mr. Thoreſby's Muſeum, p. 337.

(3) Wiſe, p. 217. Borlaſe, p. 257. Thoreſby, p. 279. Walker in Camd. col. CXIV. &c. &c. &c.

(4) Speed, Hiſt. p. 48. See alſo Camden, col. CXV.

(5) Dr. Plott's Oxfordſh. p. 312, 313.

(6) Ob. Walker in Camd. col. CXVI.

(7) Præf. to his Archæologia, in Lewis's Hiſt. of Britain, p. 62.

(8) Borlaſe, p. 251, 260.

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the Britons in his days having no coined money; not of gold, certainly, as the pieces in queſtion are. Mr. Wiſe, I obſerve, and Biſhop Nicholſon (1), and Mr. Morton (2), all agree with me in this; and the firſt notes, in reſpect of CAS (the letters that appear upon one of theſe coins) "ad "Caſtellanos, vel Caſcantes Hiſpaniæ, Caſſios Britanniæ, "vel ad Caſſinomagum Galliæ, æquo jure pertinent." But as there is a figure on horſeback upon theſe coins, I rather think it to be a regal one; not Caſſivellaun's, but Cunobelin's; the coin being miſ-read, as will be noted hereafter. At preſent I only remark, that theſe conjectures of Mr. Wiſe only account for the inſcription on one of the coins; to wit, CAS, and not for CASCO the legend on the other, which does not ſo well conſiſt with Caſtellani, Caſcantes, &c. But to proceed with the antiquaries, Speed, Plott, &c.: It muſt be remembered that theſe coins are gold, which was not diſcovered in this iſland in Cæſar's time, as is evident from his ſilence in the Commentaries, and the expreſs teſtimony of Cicero in his Epiſtles (3), though it was found ſoon after (4). I mention this particular in reſpect of the gold coins of Cunobelin, as likewiſe of Mr. Wiſe; who obſerves, concerning the coins of this Prince, that they are gold and ſilver, and yet Cæſar teſtifies the Britiſh money was braſs; but certainly, tho' before Cæſar, and in Caſſivellaun's time, the

(1) Nicholſon, Hiſt. Lib.
(2) Morton, N. H. of Northamptonſh. cited by Borlaſe, p. 250.
(3) Cicero, Epiſt. ad Fam. VII. 7. ad Attic. IV. 15.
(4) Strabo IV. p. 199. Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 12. See Dr. Plott, Oxfordſh. p. 164. and Mr. Borlaſe, p. 253.
(5) Wiſe, p. 226.

Britiſh

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Britiſh ſpecie, ſuch as it was, might be only braſs or iron tallies adjuſted to weight, there might be both gold and ſilver money in Cunobelin's reign. But now, that I may obſerve this by the way, the invention or appearance of gold here, ſo immediately after, ſeems to exclude the notion of thoſe who think the gold ſpecie found here, might be brought from Spain, or Africa, countries abounding with this metal (1). But what is more deciſive, the legend of the coin, claſſ. V. no. II. is IASCO (2), and not CAS, and the firſt letter in Speed's original type is a T; ſo that the truth of the inſcription is TASCO, that is, TASCIO. And whereas the coin produced by Mr. Walker in Camden, claſſ. V. no. 3. has CAS only, 'tis clear to me, that this piece, which was Mr. William Charleton's (3), is the very ſame with the former, the legend being imperfectly given, and the reverſe the ſame as in Speed, whereas in Camden it is inverted or turned upſide down. There is room apparently for the reſt of the letters on the obverſe, which poſſibly were either obliterated in Mr. Charleton's coin, or were overlooked by the antiquary, Walker, or his engraver, or both. As to the firſt letter, which in this coin is ſo plainly C, there is ſome confuſion in this part of the piece, as will appear by comparing the type of this coin with that of the other. However, as in Charleton's piece it is C, this convinces me of the exiſtence of the croſs ſtroke of the T; and indeed it is plain to be ſeen in Speed's original type, tho' it be omitted in the copy of it in Camden. Speed's coin was

(1) Wiſe, p. 227.
(2) Mr. Morton's scov, reported by Borlaſe, p. 251, is moſt ridiculous.
(3) Camden, col. CXCIX.

certainly more perfect than Charleton's; and what the horſeman has in his hand is evidently there a whip. If theſe things are ſo, this gold coin (for the two coins are now reduced to one) is in all probability a piece of Cunobelin's, his mark TASCIO appearing upon it; and I have accordingly regiſtered it as ſuch in the 5th claſs.

Mr. Speed has a notion that Comius, mentioned in Cæſar, and his aſſociate in the invaſion of our iſland, was King of the Attrebates in Britain (1); and he is followed in this by Mr. Borlaſe (2). Theſe authors conſequently, aſcribing to him the gold coin in Camden 1, 10, muſt be of opinion, the Britons were in poſſeſſion of the art of coining before Cæſar's time, or at leaſt in his days. Now, that the coin belongs to this perſon, and that there were a people in Britain of this name, will be readily granted; but that Comius was King of them may be juſtly doubted, ſince he rather appears to have been King of the Attrebates on the continent of Gaul. This Comius, as it appears from Cæſar, was with him in Gaul before his firſt expedition, and was even conſtituted by him King of the Attrebates (3), who, as Cæſar had not as yet ſet his foot in Britain, muſt in all reaſon be the Attrebates of Gaul; they certainly could be no other, ſince he ſays, *they were already conquered* (4). Cæſar again tells us, how greatly he was at a loſs to get the proper informations concerning the extent of the iſland of Britain, what nations inhabited it, what experience they

(1) Speed, Hiſt. p. 29. ſeq.
(2) Borlaſe, p. 250, 256.
(3) Cæſ. de B. G. IV. c. 21.
(4) And ſee him, Lib. II.

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had in war, by what laws they were governed, and what kind of havens they had, "quæ omnia, says he, fere "Gallis erant incognita:" In short, he was forced to dispatch C. Volusenus to reconnoitre, and procure him the best intelligence he could as to these matters; but certainly he could not have been so much distressed on these points, nor have been obliged to convene the Gaulish merchants for the obtaining of their assistance therein, if Comius had been King of the British Attrebates, who were seated far in the island; in Berkshire according to Camden, and in Oxfordshire if we follow Mr. Baxter. But the coin itself being gold, methinks, puts this matter out of all doubt, for from thence we may assuredly infer, that, if Cæsar is to be believed, it cannot be a British piece, and consequently must be a Gallic coin.

But perhaps it may be alledged, that the Britons had some trade, which cannot well be conducted without money. This is in a good measure the notion of Mr. Wise, in respect of our Britons, "Ante Romanorum in "Britanniam adventum, says he, quali moneta usi sunt "incolæ, haud facile dictu est, et gentem cum exteris mer-"caturam exercentem monetæ usus nullo modo effugere "posset (1)." However, he appears afterwards to be of the same opinion with us, that the Aborigines of Britain had no coined money of their own; for he says, "Nullus "credo Britannos, vel ante, vel post subactam insulam, "monetam propriam signatam habuisse (2)," implying, they might make use of a specie, tho' not of their own fabrication; but even this is more than necessary in the

(1) Wise, p. 225.
(2) Idem, p. 226.

case,

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caſe, ſince traffic and commerce can be in ſome imperfect degree carried on without money, as it is at this day in many parts of the world (1). The Phœnicians, 'tis thought, had no coined money till the time of Alexander the Great (2); the caſe was much the ſame with the Hebrews (3); that the Britons ſhould therefore be without money, is not ſo ſtrange as Walker repreſents it (4). Toland ſays, ſpeaking of the Hebrides or Hebudes in his time, "The uſe of money is ſtill in ſome of thoſe iſlands "unknown, and till a few ages paſt in all of them (5)." I add, that the Britons in the Eaſtern and South-Eaſtern parts of the iſland, where Caſſivellaun and Cunobelin reſided, had in appearance no other trade at this time, but ſome inconſiderable dealings with the Gauls (6). The caſe might be very different in the Weſt.

Ed. Lhuyd thought the Britons had gold coins before the coming of the Romans, "becauſe there have been "found thick pieces of that metal, hollowed on one ſide, "with variety of unintelligible marks and characters upon "them. And the reaſon why he thought they were "coined before the Romans came, is this: If the Britons "had learned the art from them, they would (tho' never "ſo inartificially) have endeavoured to imitate their man-"ner of coins; and, in all likelihood, have added letters, "and the head of their Kings (7)." It may be replied,

(1) Borlaſe, Antiq. p. 250, 256.
(2) Wiſe, p. 217.
(3) Conringius de Numm. Hebræor. Paradoxa, p. 163.
(4) Walker in Camd. col. CXIV.
(5) Toland, Miſc. Works, p. 176.
(6) Cæſ. B. G. IV. 20. Strabo, Lib. IV.
(7) Lhuyd in Nicholſon, p. 30. and in Camd. col. 774

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1ſt. That the Britons had then no gold amongſt them. 2dly. In Biſhop Nicholſon's words, " 'tis againſt the ex- " preſs teſtimony of Julius Cæſar, who could hardly be " impoſed on in this part of the account he gives of our " iſle." 3dly. We think they ſufficiently reſemble the Roman coins, both in their manner, the letters, and the heads, a point which will at large be made good below.

Montfaucon thinks the Gauls had money before Cæſar's time (1); and many authors, I find, imagine the Britons had (2), as has been in part remarked above; but I ſhall reſt this matter on what has been ſaid.

My next poſition is, that if afterwards, and before the reign of Cunobelin, the Britons paid any *vectigal* to the Romans, which perhaps may be doubted (3), ſuch *vectigal* was not diſcharged in coin, but in commodities of various kinds. This, it is allowed, is not of equal certainty with the former aſſertion, but will be thought exceeding probable on the footing of what has been alledged above (4).

I obſerve thirdly, what I think can hardly be controverted, that the coins of Cunobelin are all of them the workmanſhip, either of a Roman maſter, or of ſome artiſt of the province of Gaul, ſufficiently expert in the buſineſs of coining, and well verſed in the Roman cuſtoms, their theology and mythology in particular. This, I think, appears evidently from the following particulars.

(1) Montf. III. p. 57.
(2) Borlaſe, p. 249, 257.
(3) I ſay this, becauſe the Britons were no more always punctual to their engagements, than the Gauls.
(4) Page 28.

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Firſt, The deities that appear on theſe coins are altogether Roman; Janus (1), for example, was no Britiſh deity, but a Roman one. Mr. Sammes, indeed, eſteems him a God of the Britons from this coin (2); but it cannot be inferred ſolely from the type of this piece, that Janus was a Britiſh deity, ſince, if the artiſt was a Roman, or a provincial, the buſt may exhibit the Janus of the Latins, repreſented here, becauſe he was the firſt that coined braſs money (3), of which metal this piece conſiſts. If this was ſome of the firſt money that was ſtruck in the iſland, as I imagine it might, nothing could be more natural, nor at the ſame time more ingenious, than to place the head of this Roman deity upon it. This, I think, accounts better for the appearance of the *Bifrons* on this coin, than Mr. Camden's and Alford's notion does, who were of opinion this head was impreſſed, becauſe Britain began, at that time, to be a little refined from its barbarity; for Janus is ſaid to have firſt changed barbarity into humanity, and for that reaſon to be painted with two faces (4). I prefer it alſo to the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Walker, that it may allude to the ſhutting of Janus's temple by Auguſtus. Alford produces a third reaſon for the head of Janus appearing on this Britiſh coin: "Romulus et Tatius, inito fœdere, Jano templum po-" nentes, duas illi facies effinxere, quo duorum regum & " populorum coitionem, & unitatem corporis innuerent. " Cunobelinus itaque eo argumento voluit oſtendere

(1) Camd. I. 1. and Lord Pemb. Plate II. Tab. 94. and 95.
(2) Sammes, p. 139.
(3) Montf. I. p. 16.
(4) Camd. ad hunc Nummum. Alford, p. 5.

" Britanniam

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" Britanniam Romæ conjunctam, et illius imperii provin-
" vinciam eſſe (1)." But there is no occaſion for this far-fetched ſurmiſe; however, it ſhould be noted, that Mr. Walker doubts whether the bicipital figure be a Janus, the heads of this deity being diverſe, one old, the other young, whereas " this ſeems, he ſays, made for two young " women's faces; whether Cunobelin's wives, or ſiſters, " or children, I know not (2)." This, it muſt be allowed, is well obſerved; for the heads of Janus are, in a general way, either both of them bearded, or one bearded and the other ſmooth: But yet there is no great weight in the remark, becauſe, as appears from Montfaucon (3), and Lord Pembroke, Part II. pl. 84. the heads of Janus are ſometimes repreſented without a beard (4). But what inclines me to think the head of Janus has a relation to the coinage, is, that in the very next coin in Camden, a braſs coin of Cunobelin's likewiſe, you have the mint-maſter at work; a circumſtance which makes it more than probable, that the head of Janus on the piece in queſtion, has ſome alluſion to the art of coining.

The next deity I mention is Apollo, who is here repreſented playing on his harp (5); an attitude and attribute which plainly determines him to be the Roman Apollo. Belus, or Belinus, the Apollo of the Britons and Gauls, had no connexion with muſic, that we know of; his preſidency in this art being the imagination of the

(1) Alford, p. 5.
(2) It may be obſerved here, that the Muſe Thalia, who doubtleſs had no beard, is repreſented with two faces. Montf. I. p. 70.
(3) I. p. 18.
(4) See alſo Lord Pembr. Part II. pl. 95. no. 5.
(5) Claſs IV. no. 1. and 3.

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Greeks and Romans (1). Cunobelin is ſuppoſed to take his name from this deity (2), Cuno ſignifying, as the etymologiſts will tell you, the ſame as King or Prince (3): Apollo was therefore, probably, a favourite idol with him. If Apollo was any thing more than the ſun, he was the deity that cured diſeaſes (4).

To Apollo I may ſubjoin the goddeſs of Victory, who is commonly delineated cloathed, in full length, and with wings, upon the Roman coins, as here (5). The Britons indeed had a deity called Andraſte, or Andate (6), of much the ſame character as the Roman Victoria (7); but her figure was probably frightful and truculent, and very unlike this. Mr. Baxter, after giving a moſt ſhocking etym. of her name, ſays, "Andraſtæ autem iſti Britanni "veteres humanas hoſtias immaniter immolabant, ritu ve- "tuſto, quam et ante commiſſum cum Romanis prælium "Amazonis noſtra Vondica precibus invocabat horrendis, "uti memoriæ prodidit Dion (8)." There is a buſt of Victory on two of theſe old Britiſh coins (9), and Mr. Camden ſays he had ſeen the ſame figure of her on the Ro-

(1) I differ from Hearne here, who, in Lel. Itin. VIII. p. 20. thinks it was out of devotion to Apollo, that the antient Britons delighted ſo much in the harp.

(2) Camden, col. CX. Alford, p. 4. And Mr. Baxter, Gl. p. 94. deviates not far, "Cunobelinus, hoc eſt, *Cond velin, Caput flavo*, ſive Ἡλιῶπις: "nam de *Bêl* ſive *Belin, Sole*, flavus color et *melin* et *velin* dicitur."

(3) Camden, col. CXI. Baxter, in Gl. p. 94. bis, eſteems it the Brit. *Cond*, Caput. See alſo ~~Hearne in~~ Alford, p. 5. Pettingal, p. 4.

(4) Cæſ. VI. c. 17.

(5) Claſs II. no. 3.

(6) A corruption, according to Baxter, of the other.

(7) Camd. col. CXI. and XLIII.

(8) Baxt. Gl. p. 16. ſeq.

(9) Camd. I. no. 12. claſs III. no. 7.

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man coins; but for my part, I do not remember any ſuch. The firſt of theſe is no coin of Cunobelin's, but the ſecond is, and in my opinion may ſerve to convince us, that the Britiſh Andate correſponded but in part with the Roman Victory. The Grecian Hercules, with his club, ſucceeds Victory, claſs I. no. 2. for what he carries on his ſhoulder is a club, as is evident from the type of the ſimilar coin in Lord Pembroke's collection, where it is plainly knotted. But what beſt eſtabliſhes this, my Lord, is claſs IV. no. 5. where Hercules ſtands at full length, as here, with his club and the lion's ſkin. I call this the Grecian, or, if your Lordſhip pleaſes, the Roman Hercules, on account of the club and the lion's ſkin; for tho', according to Lucian, Hercules Ogmius, a deity of the Gauls, had his club, and the ſpoils of the lion (1), yet that was probably a later portrait of him, after the Gauls became acquainted with the Greek and Roman mythology; but be that as it will, the Britons of the age cannot be thought to have any knowledge of the Grecian Hercules, and his exploits: for tho' Richard of Cirenceſter, p. 9. mentions Hercules amongſt the Britiſh deities, it was becauſe of his introduction in after times. Lucian, methinks, plainly intimates that theſe attributes belong to the Grecian Hercules; for he thought, he ſays, the Gauls might repreſent him in the manner they did, to ridicule the gods of the Greeks; and in Montf. II. p. 271. the Gallic Hercules is naked. And I am of opinion, that the Gallic (2) and Belgic (3) repreſentation of Her-

(1) Lucian II. p. 365. Ed. Amſt. 1687.
(2) Montf. II. p. 272.
(3) Montf. II. p. 283.

cules,

cules, with the club, and the ſpoils of the lion, are both of them owing to their acquaintance with the Roman mythology, the letters and formulæ of the latter appearing on one of thoſe monuments; we therefore cannot eſteem them pure Gallic remains.

In claſs III. no. 2. and in one of Lord Pembroke's, claſs II. no. 6. we have actually the Pegaſus, a creature of meer Greek and Roman imagination, connected with Parnaſſus and the Muſes, of whom theſe diſtant and unpoliſhed iſlanders could have no knowledge of themſelves. Mr. Camden miſtakes the Pegaſus on this coin for a ſimple horſe; however, he makes us amends, by mentioning another coin he had ſeen with a Pegaſus.

But what is yet more extraordinary, we have in claſs III. no. 3. and 7. a Theban Sphinx, with wings, another phantaſtical being, unknown, for any thing that appears, to the antient Britons, but aſſumed, as is moſt probable, by Cunobelin and his artiſt, out of compliment to Auguſtus Cæſar; who, as Suetonius tells us, uſed the Sphinx on a ſeal (1). This creature of the brain is ſeen alſo on a coin in Montfaucon's ſecond claſs of the Gallic coins, and was probably adopted on the ſame reſpectful account. The Sphinx alſo belongs to Mars (2), and therefore is very properly joined with Victory in our third claſs, no. 7. And as Camulus, towards whom Cunobelin ſeems to have borne uncommon reſpect, by naming his royal ſeat Camulodunum from him, is but another name for Mars, there may have been a double reaſon for his taking the Sphinx for one of his devices.

(1) Sueton. Aug. c. 50. Pliny, N. H. XXXVII. 1.
(2) Gent. Magazine, 1752, p. 406, 407.

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The 4th of the IVth claſs preſents us, laſtly, with a very perfect and fine Centaur winding his horn, another Grecian conceit, brought hither from Rome. In regard to theſe Roman deities in general, the caſe of the Britons was much the ſame with that of the Gauls; for theſe laſt, as appears from Montfaucon (1), borrowed the Roman deities, and their attributes, as ſoon as they became acquainted with that people. Matters went the ſame way at Carthage (2).

What I would notice next is the manner, the taſte, and the execution of theſe coins of Cunobelin, all which are entirely Roman (3). This is acknowledged by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. XIX. p. 130. as likewiſe by Mr. Baxter (4); though Mr. Lhuyd above ſeems to diſpute it: In ſhort, theſe coins are very terſe and elegant; and if your Lordſhip will pleaſe to compare them with thoſe in Camden's ſecond table, with ſome in the firſt, and with the Gallic coins in Montfaucon, you will inſtantly be ſenſible they are the productions of ſome ſkilful artiſt, inſtead of a clumſy barbarian. The Britons certainly knew nothing of crowns and laurels, whence therefore could the laureate head come, in claſs V. no. 1. and claſs III. no. ult. and the laureate crown, in claſs III. no. 2. but either immediately or mediately from Rome? Mr. Camden is of opinion, and with great appearance of probability, that the coin in claſs V. no. 1. repreſents the head of Auguſtus; and who will not from

(1) Tom. II. Book V.
(2) ——— p. 282.
(3) See claſs II. no. 1. III. no. 1. I. no. 1. IV. no. 1, &c. &c. &c.
(4) Baxter, Gloſſ. voce TASCIA, cited above.

thence

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thence conclude, in conjunction with the goodneſs of the work on both ſides, that it muſt be the atchievement of a Roman, or at leaſt a Romaniz'd hand? In claſs VI. no. 6. and claſs V. no. 8. which are both gold coins, you have very elegant horſes mounted with riders, and ſcarce are there any better on the Roman denarii of the times.

It may be of weight in the argument to obſerve, that the deities of the antient Britons, who were groſly and ſoully immerſed in idolatry (1), were monſters of uglineſs and deformity, as we are expreſly informed by Gildas, whoſe words ſhall be adduced below. But now, if theſe coins had been the work of the natives, and not of a foreign maſter, your Lordſhip may depend upon it we ſhould ſee the repreſentation of ſome of their miſ-ſhapen idols upon them; which is ſo far from being the caſe, that, on the contrary, every thing here is proportionable and agreeable to the eye, and not one of thoſe hideous and portentous figures appears: the ſubjects are really Roman, and the taſte and manner of the figures and repreſentations the ſame.

I add, in the laſt place, the form of the letters, which are clearly and inconteſtably no other than Roman. It has been queſtioned by ſome, whether the Britons had any letters before Julius Cæſar came amongſt them, notwithſtanding what the Oxford antiquaries pretend (2); but if they had, there is no reaſon to think they were of the Roman caſt (3); they would probably have more re-

(1) Uſher, Brit. Eccleſ. Antiq. p. 1.
(2) Wood, Hiſt. Antiq. l. c. 1, 2, 3. Lel. Itin. IV. p. 156, 168.
(3) Wiſe, p. 276.

ſembled

ſembled the Greek (1), or the oriental, according to Mr. Sammes (2), or the old Britiſh (3), commonly called the Saxon. But now, inſtead of this, you have almoſt a complete Roman alphabet on the Britiſh coins.

A B C D E G H I L M N O P R S T V X.

This is certainly very remarkable, and may convince any unprejudiced perſon, that the coins of Cunobelin, on which moſt of theſe letters, 13 out of 18, appear (letters of this form, and no other) eſpecially if you conſider them as a firſt eſſay (which is the light in which I view them) muſt almoſt neceſſarily be the work of a provincial, or other Roman maſter. Here I may likewiſe mention the word RE as part of REX, in claſs III. no. 5. as alſo the latinized form of the King's name, CVNOBELINVS, on that coin. But to return to the letters; this matter has long been thought an affair of difficulty amongſt our antiquaries (4), and can be ſolv'd upon no other ſuppoſition ſo reaſonably, as that a Roman artiſt was employed in ſtriking the coins at firſt.

The ſeveral particulars here mentioned, my Lord, amount in the whole to this; that a Roman hand of ſome ſort was employed in the firſt Britiſh mints. But you will aſk, how could this happen, ſince, after the receſs of Julius Cæſar, the Romans never approached Britain, till A. Plautius came hither with the Legions, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius? I anſwer, tho' no military force

(1) Cæſ. de B. G. VI. c. 14. and Oudendorp ad loc.
(2) See his Brit. Antiq. Illuſtr. paſſim.
(3) Ed. Lhuyd's Preface in Lewis's Hiſt. of Britain, p. 60. ſeq.
(4) Ibid.

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entered the iſland in that interval, it does not follow but many individuals might; wherefore, could it be ſhewn, that a continual intercourſe and friendſhip between the two people, the Britons and Romans, were cultivated in the intermediate ſpace, it will appear probable, that in fact many Romans did arrive.

This, my Lord, would be made out in very few words, if Cunobelin, as it is delivered by Jeffrey of Monmouth (1), and Guido de Columna, who have been followed by other authors (2), was educated at Rome; or if, as Walker and Alford tell us (3), he was the ſon or nephew of Mandubratius, the friend of Julius Cæſar, who reſtored him to the government of the Trinobantes, and even carried him with him to Rome (4). But I doubt theſe facts are infinitely too precarious to be relied on; ſince the antients, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio, take no notice of them. We muſt therefore look out for ſomething more ſubſtantial. Now Strabo ſays, he had ſeen ſome Britiſh youths at Rome, that were half a foot higher than the talleſt men (5). Julius Cæſar carried with him ſome Britiſh captives (6), but theſe could not be the young men intended by Strabo; for in his time they muſt have been

(1) Galfr. Monum. IV. c. xi.

(2) Fabian, fol. XVIII. b. Speed, p. 31. Alford I. p. 4. Walker in Camd. col. CIX, CXV, CXXV. In col. CXVI. he ſays, "He, meaning Cunobelin, "lived in Rome, in favour with Auguſtus and the Senate, who declared "him *a friend of the Romans*, as is plainly intimated in that ſpeech of the "generous Caractacus." But I find nothing in Caractacus's ſpeech that implies this.

(3) Walker, in Camd. col. CXVI. Alford, p. 2.

(4) Cæſ. de B. G. V. c. 20, 22.

(5) Strabo, Lib. IV. p. 200.

(6) Cæſ. de B. G. V. c. 23.

too

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too old to be called ἀνήπαιδες. The ſame author tells us again, that in his time, certain of the *Reguli* of Britain obtained, by embaſſies and acts of civility, the friendſhip of Auguſtus Cæſar, dedicated their preſents in the Capitol, and brought almoſt the whole iſland into a ſtate of familiarity with the Romans (1). Cunobelin, one has reaſon to think, was principal amongſt theſe petty Kings; and the Britiſh Envoys, no doubt, were wrapt in admiration, on beholding the grandeur and magnificence of the city of Rome; were tranſported with pleaſure, on ſeeing their manners and cuſtoms ſo totally different from theirs, and at the ſame time ſo polite and genteel. They probably would not be leaſt taken with the beauty and excellency of the Roman money, gold, ſilver, and braſs, impreſſed with ſuch a variety of inſtructing devices, ſo maſterly performed. Theſe things they would naturally ſpeak of on their return home, and with exaggeration, as uſually happens in theſe caſes, rather than diminution. The author ſays further, that in this reign, the Romans had not impoſed upon the Britons any tribute, or other heavy cuſtoms; and the impoſts laid upon their exports and imports, were eaſily paid by the Britons, being but trifling payments, and for a ſpecies of merchandiſe of no great value. Matters between the two people were not always, 'tis true, upon the ſame amicable footing, for Auguſtus entertained a deſign, more than once, of invading them (2): and when on a time he had advanced as far as Gaul, the Britons ſent Ambaſſadors to him to ſue for peace, which was granted them, " upon their

(1) Strabo, l. c.
(2) Hor. Od. I. 35. III. 5. IV. 14.

" promiſing, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, to " ſtand to their agreement with his predeceſſor Julius." Mr. Carte thinks this expedition of Auguſtus was for the purpoſe of regulating the payment (1). The political ſentiments of Auguſtus Cæſar were afterwards not to enlarge the empire, but to let the ocean be the bounds of it, as nature ſeemed to direct; at preſent, 'tis plain, he had different notions; quære, therefore, whether his deſign now was not to penetrate further into the iſland, and to conciliate and gain to his intereſt the more diſtant clans.

Let this matter be as it will, the Britons behaved in a complying and moſt engaging manner under Tiberius, the next Emperor, when Cunobelin was ſtill living; for their Reguli, or petty Princes, were then ſo well affected to the Romans, as to ſend back ſome of Germanicus's ſoldiers that had been ſhipwrecked on their coaſts (2). This ſhipwreck probably happened on the coaſt of Norfolk or Suffolk, amongſt the *Iceni*, ſubject to Cunobelin, as will be ſeen hereafter; and thoſe ſubaltern Princes were conſequently the dependents of Cunobelin, and acted in this matter by his direction. Mr. Carte further ſays, " The principal of the Britiſh nobility reſorted frequently " to Rome itſelf, and ſome of them were there edu- " cated (3)." So ſay alſo Matth. of Weſtm. (4), and Alford (5); but I doubt they have no good authority for this.

(1) Carte, I. p. 97.
(2) Tacitus, Annal. II. c. 24i
(3) Carte, I. p. 97.
(4) M. Weſtm. p. 51,
(5) Alford, p. 15.

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In Caligula's time, Cunobelin being yet on the throne, the friendſhip and familiarity between the Britons and Romans ſtill ſubſiſted; for Adminius, the ſon of Cunobelin, being driven from home by his father, fled to Caligula with a few partizans, as to a friend (1), juſt as Bericus and others afterwards reſorted to Rome to the Emperor Claudius (2); and Suetonius, ſignifying the cauſe of this Emperor's attempt upon Britain, ſays, the iſland was at this time very ſeditious, *ob non redditos transfugas* (3); which implies, not only that Adminius and Bericus, but many others, had of late time taken refuge at Rome (4). It appears from Tacitus, that Venuſius, *e Jugantum civitate*, or *Brigantum*, as ſome emend it (5), was very friendly diſpoſed towards the Roman intereſt, when they afterwards invaded the iſland under Claudius (6): and Mr. Horſeley thinks the *Iceni* had entered into amity with the Romans, even from the time of Julius Cæſar (7); and this is the opinion alſo of Mr. Baxter, "Credibile eſt "Icenos veteris Britanniæ populos, amicitia uſos Roma-"norum frænandis Belgis *Primæ Britanniæ* populis, qui-"buscum ſolis Cæſar bellum geſſerat. Belgo-Brigantes "iſti, ut veriſimile videtur, dudum Belgarum jugum ex-"cuſſerant, creato ſibi Silure Pendragone (8)." But

(1) Suetonius in Caio, c. 44.
(2) Dio, Lib. LX. Horſeley thinks he may be the ſame with Adminius, or one of his companions.
(3) M. Weſtm. inſinuates, that Claudius's invaſion was owing to Guiderius, or Togodumnus, refuſing to pay the uſual tribute, p. 45, 41.
(4) Suet. in Claud. c. 17.
(5) Horſeley, p. 26. Pettingal, p. 5.
(6) Annal. XII. c. 40.
(7) Horſeley, p. 36.
(8) Baxter, Gloſſ. voc. CUNOBELINUS. CARTISMANDUA. ICENI.

without

without running this detail into any greater length, the appearance of Auguſtus's head on one of theſe coins, and the Sphinx upon others, are a clear and convincing evidence of the regard and veneration in which Cunobelin held that Emperor; wherefore it may reaſonably be aſſumed, that there is no abſurdity, no impropriety, no improbability, in ſuppoſing him to procure and employ a Roman maſter in the buſineſs of his mints. It was very natural for him to think of ſtamping money, as he had heard, and no doubt ſaw, the Romans did (for I muſt think the Ambaſſadors above ſpoken of, would unqueſtionably bring ſome of the Roman ſpecie with them into Britain); and for that purpoſe would probably get the aſſiſtance of one of their artiſts, by inviting him into Britain. From hence, I am perſuaded, proceeded the compliments made to Auguſtus upon Cunobelin's coins, together with that variety of other matter, ſavouring of the Roman religion, their manner and taſte, ſo conſpicuous on the Britiſh coins, and in particular, their alphabet. Theſe things ſeem not to be eaſily accounted for, on any other ſuppoſition: for my part, if TASCIO, or TASCIA, could paſs for a Roman name, which I much queſtion, both on account of itſelf, as likewiſe becauſe a Prænomen, or an Agnomen, has never once been ſeen with it on theſe coins, I ſhould think he was really an Italian, or a gremial of Rome; at it is, I take him to have been a provincial of the Roman province in Gaul, educated and inſtructed, as well in the art of coining, as in the other Roman arts, and more eſpecially in all matters relative to their mythology. The mint-maſters of theſe times were people of conſequence; ſuch were the IIIViri and the IIIIViri Monetales at Rome,

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Rome, whoſe names we ſee ſo frequently on the Conſular coins. And I need only remit your Lordſhip to Stoſch (1), for a proof of the great artiſts of Greece putting their names on the gems. As for the coins, we ſee the maſters ſoon after placing their names very generally upon thoſe of the Weſt; I ſpeak not of the Roman ſpecie, but the Saxon and Francic; a cuſtom which perhaps might be borrowed from the practice and example of TASCIO, on this Britiſh money, the Gauls on the continent fetching much more important matters and cuſtoms from our iſland. In ſhort, the Britiſh mints, of which I ſuppoſe there might be ſeveral, were all, as I apprehend, under the care and inſpection of TASCIO, the mint-maſter of Cunobelin; and this will account for his name appearing upon pieces coined at different places; as at Verulam, Camulodunum, &c. as alſo for pieces of this King ſtruck at other places, and of equal goodneſs in the work, tho' the name of TASCIO does not occur upon them. Mr. Wiſe has been pleaſed to mention the Taſcodumni, as a people of Gallia Narbonenſis; and if he, or any other perſon, ſhould incline to think TASCIO might be of that nation, and the name at length might be written Taſcodumnus, I have no objection.

This, my Lord, is my opinion concerning the word TASCIO on theſe coins; and the ſenſe I have here affixed to it, and the other notions and particulars I have advanced above, lead me naturally into a perſuaſion, that the coins of all the ſix claſſes are the productions of Taſcio, a provincial artiſt, entertained in the ſervice of the Britiſh Prince Cunobelin; and moreover, that they are

(1) Amſtel. 1724, fol.

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the firſt fruits, and perhaps the laſt, of the Britiſh mints, meaning thoſe that were wrought and employed before the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and his conqueſts; and laſtly, that this money was not by any means made for the purpoſe of paying tribute, but to be the general and current ſpecie of the ſubjects of Cunobelin. This hypotheſis, for I dare not call it by any higher name, ſufficiently ſolves all the appearances on the coins themſelves, and is withal conſiſtent with the ſeveral notices which the antients have left us, concerning the pecuniary matters of this iſland in thoſe remote times. It comports alſo with that circumſtance, thought ſo extraordinary, of our finding no coins of Adminius, Caractacus, Togodumnus, &c. ſince, theſe being contemporaries with Claudius (the two latter at leaſt) it ſeems never to have been in their power to ſtrike any money.

Mr. Camden has given us a coin with a Greek inſcription, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ. on obv. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΙΜΙΝΑΙΟΥ on the reverſe (1). The piece is well known, and needs no further deſcription: By Britannicus, he underſtands the ſon of Claudius Cæſar, honoured by a decree of the Senate, with the ſurname Britannicus, and then writes, "Who this Etiminius ſhould be, does not appear to me, unleſs we imagine him to be that Adminius, Cunobelin's ſon, who, as Suetonius ſays, took protection under C. Caligula (2)." But we are by no means ſure that Adminius was living, when the Emperor Claudius, on his return to Rome, from his Britiſh expedition, was honoured with a triumph; and both he

(1) Camd. Num. Rom. Tab. I. no. 3. Speed, p. 55.
(2) And ſo Speed, p. 55.

and

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and his ſon were inveſted with the title of Britannicus (1). However, the illuſtrious Spanheim has ſhewn, that this Greek coin belongs to a very different country; but the whole of this affair has been ſo fully ſtated by Mr. Carte (2), that I need not any longer to detain your Lordſhip with it.

As to Caratacus; the coin with CEARATIC, conjectured to belong to him, and engraved here as one of Cunobelin's (3), will be mentioned below more than once. All therefore I ſhall need to note further, will be in relation to two pieces ſuppoſed to belong to Arviragus, and another which has been thought the property of Bericus. The Poet Juvenal has theſe words,

> Regem aliquem capies, vel de temone Britanno
> Excidet Arviragus.
>
> Sat. IV. 126.

Whence the Monkiſh authors have got the name of Arviragus, a Britiſh Prince (4), and have related great matters concerning him, notwithſtanding the ſilence of Tacitus, Dio, &c. And Alford, the Popiſh annaliſt, to ſalve the credit of his friends the Monks, pretends, that Caratacus and Arviragus were one and the ſame perſon (5). But the beſt judges, my Lord, are of opinion, that Arviragus, in that paſſage of Juvenal, is not a proper name,

(1) Dio, Lib. LX. p. 781.
(2) Carte, p. 98. in Not.
(3) Claſs VI. no. 2.
(4) Galfr. Monum. IV. c. 16. Matth. Weſt. p. 51. alii. Abp. Uſher alſo, p. 12. and 288. eſteems him a real perſon, and Camden col. XXXVII.
(5) Alford, p. 6, 22, 23.

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but an appellative. Thus Mr. Baxter, " ARVIRAGUS, apud " ſatyricum Juvenalem viri nomen non eſt, quod vel ip- " ſius poetæ verſus ſubindicat:——

" Regem aliquem, &c.

" Diverſum quid igitur *Arviragus* a Rege. Certè *Ardh* " *rig*, vel altera etiam dialecto *Ardh rag*, ut et *Kend rig* " (vitioſe Romanorum ore *Arviragus* et *Cingetorix*) " Dictator erat a communi Gallorum Britannorumque, " Concilio bellorum temporibus ſummæ rerum præ- " fectus, &c. (1)." This notion of Mr. Baxter's, I find, is approved both by Mr. Wiſe (2), and others (3); and Mr. Carte concurs with them, tho' he varies ſomething as to the etymon, " *Arviragus*, a latinized word for *Ard-* " *vraight*, i. e. the chief head of a clan, or principal " Chieftain, from *Ard*, high, and *Vracht*, a ſupport; or " *Vraight*, a potentate; the Chieftains of the *Iriſh* Septs " being ſtill to this day called *Vraights*, as Camden tells " us in *Brit.* IRELAND, COLERANE. See Lhuyd's Ar- " chæol. Brit. in Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary." To this imaginary Arviragus, the ſilver coin in Camden I. 25. with an armed head and ARIVOG on the obv. and horſe galloping with ONONVS on the reverſe, is aſcribed both by Speed (4), and Abp. Uſher (5); that gold coin alſo in Camd. I. 27. without a legend, Speed ſeems to think may be the pro-

(1) Baxt. Gl. voc. ARVIRAGUS, CARATACUS, and CUNOBELINUS.
(2) Wiſe, p. 226.
(3) Gent. Magaz. 1757, p. 59.
(4) Speed, Hiſt. p. 35.
(5) Uſher, Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 12, 288.

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perty of the ſame Prince (1); but Ob. Walker (2) eſteems it a groundleſs conjecture, as I dare ſay your Lordſhip will: And as to the former of theſe coins, Mr. Wiſe obſerves, " Integrior nummus Pembrokianus legit ARIVOS " SANTONOS; qui ſorte ad *Santones* Galliæ Aquitaniæ " populum ſpectat. Quod ſi ARIVOS *Arioviſtum*, a Cæſare " devictum, legant alii, ipſe non refragabor (3)." This, doubtleſs, is a plauſible conjecture; however, we may be very certain, Arviragus, if ever there were ſuch a perſon, has no title to this coin.

I am next to mention a ſilver coin of Bericus (4), who was contemporary with Caratacus and Togodumnus, as likewiſe with their father Cunobelin. The account we have of this penny, is this: Mr. Ed. Lhuyd, in his famous preface to his countrymen, prefixed to the Archæologia (5), ſays, " As to the Britains, we can eaſily prove " (for it is plain demonſtration) that they had letters be- " fore the time of Juvenal and Tacitus; for I have lately " ſeen a coin of *Berach*, or Bericus, with his name upon " it, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, &c." It appears to me, that Mr. Lhuyd had communicated this coin to Mr. Baxter, with whom he correſponded; for he, in his Gloſſary, p. 58. gives a more particular account of it, " Hujus *Berici* argenteum nummum vidiſſe ſe teſtatur

(1) Speed, Hiſt. p. 73.
(2) See him in Camden.
(3) Wiſe, p. 227.
(4) Dio, p. 779. Mr. Baxt. in Gloſſ. p. 58. calls him Caius Bericus; but I believe upon no authority, and eſteems him to have been of the rank of a *Regulus*, or petty King.
(5) This was written in the Britiſh tongue, but is tranſlated into Engliſh by himſelf and others, in Lewis's Hiſt. of Britain, p. 59. ſeq.

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"Ludidius noſter in Archæologia, cujus capiti circum-"ſcribebatur BIRIC: & in averſâ parte porci erat ſig-"num." This coin certainly bids fair to be a genuine coin of Bericus; but then, as Mr. Baxter obſerves (1), "Verum oportuit Percuſſorem hujus nummi fuiſſe Ro-"manum." *It muſt have been Roman work*, and for what we can tell, might have been the production of Taſcio himſelf; however, every thing that reſpects it is perfectly conſiſtent with what we have delivered above.

I eſteem it probable, that when once Taſcio had begun to ſtamp money for Cunobelin, the Britons themſelves would be trying, in imitation of him, to ſtrike money; and from their hand might come ſome of thoſe rough and barbarous pieces, that are really Britiſh; nay, ſome of them, for ought we know, may be coins of Cunobelin, tho' they cannot be appropriated to him with any certainty, for want of the neceſſary data. But there were *Reguli* in the iſland, independent of Cunobelin, and others of theſe concave ſhapeleſs pennies may appertain to them; and when the Romans left the country, and either carried away or concealed a good part of their ſpecie, the Britiſh Pendragons would neceſſarily be obliged to make ſome mean eſſays; and afterwards, when the Britons were driven into Wales and Cornwall by the Saxons, they would be neceſſitated to attempt ſomething in the pecuniary way in thoſe parts. Theſe ſuppoſitions, all taken together, ſufficiently account, we think, for the great number of the Britiſh pennies found here, as alſo for the rudeneſs of the workmanſhip in them; and laſtly, for the difficulty of aſcribing them to their true and pro-

(1) Letters prefixed to Baxt. Gloſſ.

per

per Princes; theſe coins wanting, in general, both letters, and all other neceſſary marks for the doing of this.

I make here one general, and very material obſervation, that whether I am right or wrong in the interpretation of the word TASCIA, the reſt of this epiſtle will not be affected by it, ſince the coins will, nevertheleſs, all of them appertain to Cunobelin. This Prince will ſtill be connected with TASCIO, whatever is the ſenſe and meaning of the word; and conſequently the buſineſs of appropriation, as above and in the ſequel, the commentary upon theſe coins, and the demonſtration of the ſeveral uſes to be made of them, will all ſtand upon a firm and ſolid bottom, let what will become of our conjecture.

Now, my Lord, that I have done with this long enquiry about TASCIO, I muſt add a few words, and but a few, for I ſhall make your Lordſhip amends here, by way of appropriating the coins of the 3d and 4th claſſes. The King's name appears at length on many of theſe coins, in conjunction with that of Taſcio; whence it ſeems but reaſonable, that where only CVN or CVNO is ſeen with TASCIO, Cunobelin muſt be meant, and nobody elſe. And the caſe will be the ſame, if there be only a part of the word TASCIO; for ſuch initials, when connected and joined with CVNOBELIN, or a part of his name, cannot in reaſon ſtand for any thing elſe but the word TASCIO, which we ſee written in other caſes ſo plainly at full length. The fourth claſs ſtands exactly upon the ſame bottom.

To come then to the 5th and 6th claſſes: TASCIO in the 5th claſs ſtands alone; but then he was plainly connected with CVNOBELIN, as appears from the 3d and 4th claſſes, and, as we think, was a mint-maſter of his: For whom therefore

therefore could theſe coins be made but for him? However, I deſire it may be further conſidered, that Cunobelin lived in all appearance to a great age, being alive in Caligula's time; ſo that Taſcio, who could not be a young man, weighing all circumſtances, when he firſt came into his ſervice, cannot in reaſon be thought to have ſerved any other maſter; being a man ſo eminent in his buſineſs, as to be fetched into Britain for the purpoſe of introducing the new art of coining, of practiſing it, and inſtructing the Britons therein, we cannot well judge him inferior in years to Cunobelin himſelf, but rather to be older, and probably much older of the two. I add, it has been above hinted, that Cunobelin's ſons ſtruck no money at all; and it would be highly unreaſonable to imagine, Taſcio ſhould coin for any other family but his. Theſe coins conſequently muſt be all of them Cunobelin's: In ſhort, the coins are plainly the work of Taſcio, for his name, or a part of it, appears upon them; and for that reaſon, we think, reflecting on the connexion between him and Cunobelin, they ought in all reaſon to be eſteemed his. But to drive this nail up to the head, you will pleaſe to obſerve, that TASCIO, on the firſt coin of the 6th claſs, is joined with VER, or Verulam, as it ought to be interpreted, a city or town of Cunobelin's, ſhewing clearly that the coin is his, tho' his name be not expreſſed upon it: Inſomuch, that Taſcio was not only connected with him, as appears from the 3d and 4th claſſes, but actually wrought at his city, as appears from this coin. The arguments reſpecting the 6th claſs run alſo in the ſame manner; this and the former claſs confirming one another, and with the light they receive from the 3d and 4th claſs,

claſs, aſcertaining themſelves with ſufficient clearneſs to this Prince; wherefore, as the ſecond coin in this claſs has the word CEARATIC upon it, we take it to be the name of a place, and can put no other ſenſe upon it; it muſt neceſſarily, we think, be ſome conſiderable city or town within Cunobelin's dominions, but at this day unknown. The conſequence is, it cannot be a coin of Caratacus.

I go now, my Lord, on the commentary or deſcription I ſpoke of, which I propoſe to contract as much as poſſible, having already premiſed a wiſh, that the Speedian and the Camdenian coins were more minutely re-inſpected, and ſeveral particulars more fully examined, which I ſhall not need to repeat, but only refer to.

CLASS

CLASS I.

No. 1.

THIS is a very elegant coin in ſilver, and repreſents, I think, the King's head, à la Romaine, without any ornament. The name, which is written at length, is particular, having I inſtead of E in the third ſyllable, which is not to be wondered at, ſince the orthography of the antient Britiſh language muſt have been at that time in a very fluctuating and unſettled ſtate. It is written in the ſame manner on claſs III. no. 1, 4, 8, and 10. The truth, however, I preſume, is CVNOBELIN, as being moſt agreeable to the etymology. The reverſe of this coin preſents us with a noble horſe, and over him a creſcent.

No. 2.

The King's name, CVN, occurs here on both ſides, which is remarkable; and yet we ſee an inſtance of the ſame kind, in the coin of TOCIRIX, in Lord Pembr. Part II. pl. 93. no. 10. I ſuſpect the ſame in the next coin in that plate; and ſee below, claſs V. no. 5. It appears to be the ſame coin that is engraved in Lord Pembroke's collection, Part II. pl. 94. no. 5. only there it is copper, whereas it is ſilver here. The figure, which is at full length and walking, is naked, but has a cap or helmet. And as the club on his ſhoulder is knotted in Lord Pembroke's type, I have declared my opinion above, in fa-

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vour of Hercules. Mr. Walker indeed eſteems it the portrait of an ordinary foot ſoldier, with a head-piece and armour down to his thighs, and club upon his ſhoulder, not conſidering that the common ſoldiers of the Britons, at this time, had no defenſive armour. See Dio Nicæus, Herodian, and Mr. Walker himſelf, in Camd. col. CXXI.

No. 3.

See the coin laſt deſcribed.

No. 4.

It is very difficult to determine what the animal on the obv. of this copper coin may be: Mr. Wiſe calls it a horſe; but it is more like a ſheep or a dog, either of which is, undoubtedly, a proper device for a Britiſh coin; their dogs being famous, and the ſheep a moſt uſeful creature to them, both for its milk and wool, as will be ſhewn hereafter. It ſeems there were ſome letters on this coin, tho' now effaced: This obliges us to regiſter the coin here, tho' it would otherwiſe belong to a different aſſortment.

No. 5.

For want of the rev. I am forced to regiſter this coin from Mr. Selden's Titles of honour, Part I. ch. 8. in this place; it would otherwiſe probably fall into another claſs. The author has alſo omitted the metal, but what he writes upon it is this: " It ſeems by the old Britiſh " monies, that the diadem or fillet, perhaps, of Pearl " alſo, was worne by King Cunobelin; one kind of them " was of this forme."

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CLASS II.

No. 1.

THE type of this braſs coin, which is alſo given us by Alford, we think, repreſents Janus, and that CAMV means Camulodunum, the place of coinage. See what has been ſaid already on both theſe points. There is a ſimilar coin of Lord Pembroke's, Part II. pl. 94. no. 6. where the animal is evidently a hog, but the tree is wanting. Trees appear on Mr. Borlaſe's coins, no. 2, 3, 6. The inſcription in Lord Pembroke is more perfect, CAMVL. All I ſhall note further is, That in Lord Pemb. Plate 95. no. 5. the head of Janus likewiſe appears, on a ſilver coin, with a horſe and rider on the reverſe, as on that piece of Cunobelin, in our 6th claſs, no. 2. and therefore may poſſibly be his.

No. 2. and 4.

Theſe are both gold (1). The firſt has a horſe, with a wheel, or perhaps the ſun, under him, and a comet over him; and on the obv. CAMV, with an ear of corn. The wheel is abſent from the ſecond; the O in CVNO is alſo differently placed, and the thing over the horſe ſeems to be either a leaf or an ear of corn. The ſecond of theſe coins is engraved in Battely's Antiq. Rutup. p. 93. where the O is evidently a creſcent, and there is a jagged leaf, or a branch over the horſe.

(1) The ſecond is marked wrong in Camden.

No.

No. 3.

This ſilver coin, from Speed, has a Victory ſitting on a chair. There is a Victory alſo on a Britiſh unknown coin in Camd. tab. I. 12. The obv. preſents us with the King's head, with the hair uncurl'd, and kept upright by means of a fillet or diadem placed at the origine of the hair.

No. 5.

This is gold, and on the obv. has a ſpica, or ear of corn, with ꟿCV, which I eſteem, as alſo Walker does, to indicate the place of coinage. The rev. has a horſe, with CVN.

No. 6.

This braſs coin has two figures ſtanding upon the obv. with CVN. The foremoſt, which is naked all but about the loins, ſeems to be Cunobelin ſtretching out ſomething which he holds in his hand; and the other, which ſeems to turn its back towards us, out of modeſty as it were, very probably is his Queen. The rev. has a Pegaſus, with CAMV.

No. 7.

For this braſs piece, ſee no. I. of this claſs.

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No. 8.

This is gold. A horſe curvetting, under him the ſun with CVN, and over him a ſtar of ſix rays, with what perhaps may be an imperfect creſcent. The rev. has an ear of corn, with CAMV.

Camd. col. CCCCXVI.

" Upon an old coin of Cunobeline . : . . I have ſeen a " figure with a helmet and a ſpear, which probably was " that of Mars; with the letters CAMV." This alſo ſeems to have been the opinion of Alford, p. 6. But ſurely one has more reaſon to think it Cunobelin himſelf.

Camd. col. CXII.

" I have likewiſe ſeen another [coin] with Pegaſus " and CAMV; and on the rev. a man's head, with an " helmet and a ſhield between ears of Corn and " CVNO."

CLASS

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CLASS III.

No. 1.

THE King's head on this braſs coin ſeems to have a cap of ſome ſort upon it, and differs in that from the 3d of the ſecond claſs, where the hair is ſo viſible. I look upon it to be a regal ornament, the common people wearing their hair long, as will be ſhewn hereafter. This is a very remarkable coin, on account of the rev. on which, in Camden's type, the mint-maſter is ſitting at work, which is evidently that of coining money, there being ſeveral pieces juſt dropped, as it were, from under the hammer. The ſame coin occurs in Lord Pembr. only the falling pieces are there wanting, as likewiſe they are on Mr. Duane's coin, no. 2. in Dr. Pettingal, which entirely reſembles Lord Pembroke's, except that Mr. Duane's has CVNOBELIN, and not CVNOBILIN. Quære, if one of the coins be not miſrepreſented? The Britiſh money, it ſeems, was ſtruck by a ſort of hammer; the reverſe being cut on a die, placed underneath the piece of metal that was to be ſtruck.

No. 2.

The Laureate crown on the obv. and the Pegaſus on the rev. of this ſilver coin, have been already conſidered.

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No. 3.

Mr. Walker takes the obv. to be a woman's head; if ſo, it may be Cunobelin's Queen, he being a married man; but if he only judged from the abſence of the beard, this particular will not bear him out, Cæſar informing us, that the Britons ſhaved their hair every where, except on the head and the upper lip. De B. G. V. c. 14. 'tis more probably Cunobelin himſelf. The Sphinx on the rev. of this ſilver piece has been before noticed.

No. 4.

The metal of this is not expreſſed, but the obv. has a horſe, with an imperfect creſcent over him; and the rev. the King's head, with his hair, but without the fillet or diadem, as in the 3d of the ſecond claſs. Authors are not always exact in the matter of obverſe and reverſe; but I chuſe to follow them, for the avoiding of confuſion, tho' I think them ſometimes wrong; as in this caſe, where the obv. evidently ſtands in the place of the rev. and *vice verſâ*.

No. 5.

This elegant copper coin of Mr. Duane's is very remarkable; the King's head on the obv. is much à la Romaine, and the name is not only latinized CVNOBELINVS, but we have alſo RE upon it as part of his title REX, particulars evidently beſpeaking it to be the performance of

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a Roman maſter, as has been already noted. The rev. preſents us with a bull or cow, the like animal alſo appearing, but in a different poſture, and as puſhing with the horns, on the 1ſt of claſs V.

No. 6.

The Queen's head, for her's I take it to be, with the hair. As for the other particulars relative to this copper piece, ſee the deſcription of no. 1. in this claſs.

No. 7.

There is a moſt excellent Sphinx on this curious ſilver coin, which is totally different from no. 3. in this claſs. The head, I ſuppoſe, is of the feminine kind, as repreſenting the goddeſs Victory, concerning whom ſee before.

No. 8.

The King's head, à la Romaine, appears on this ſilver coin, which is inſcribed CVNOBILIN. Over the horſe on the rev. there is a part of a circle; perhaps it was intended for a creſcent, correſponding in that reſpect alſo with no. 1. claſs I.

No. 9.

This braſs coin, which has CVNOBILIN, with the King's head on the obv. and the mint-maſter ſitting at work on the

the rev. has been conſidered before; ſee no. 1. of this claſs.

No. 10.

This coin, which is of the ſame metal, exhibits the King's head à la Romaine, and laureated, which is very extraordinary, with the inſcription CVNOBILIN. The rev. has a horſe ſtanding ſtill; and the legend, which is very faint, ſeems to give us the word TASCIA.

CLASS IV.

No. 1.

THE coins of this claſs are the moſt perfect and complete of any, as to the legend. This ſilver one, which is engraved alſo in Alford, has the King's buſt clothed, with the hair dreſſed cloſe to the head. Mr. Camden, Alford, and the authors of the Univ. Hiſt. vol. XIX. p. 130. eſteem it, but I know not for what reaſon, a woman's head, the two latter thinking it to repreſent Britain. The rev. has Apollo ſitting and playing on his harp, exactly like no. 3. in this claſs. Walker calls the rev. a hog and wolf incorporated, a note which I ſuppoſe is put in that place by miſtake, ſince in all probability it belongs to Camden I. 14. where ſee this author. The inſcription on the obv. is TASCNOVANE; and Walker thinks Novanei may denote ſome unknown city in the dominions of Cunobelin;

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Cunobelin; but others incline to interpret it, the tribute of the Novantes (1). This is probable enough, as Mr. Duane's coin, no. 5. in this class, has plainly TASC NOVA; the perfect word, I suppose, would be NOVANETUM, the E being inserted, as presently we shall see the I is in a similar case. Dr. Pettingal thinks the people of the province were called *Novantes*, and he vouches this coin (2), whilst the inhabitants of the city were called *Trinobantes*, from *Tre*, a town or city; so that *Trinobantes* signified *the city of the Novantes* (3). This is very plausible, and yet there lies an objection against it, since Cæsar, lib. V. mentions the Trinobantes as a nation. I know not how to get over this: However, there is a third coin in this class, viz. no. 2. where the inscription runs TASCIIOVANIT, and where 'tis possible, especially as this coin comes to us by Mr. Speed, the II may be N, and then it will imply TASC NOVANITVM, as here, I being inserted instead of E.

No. 2.

This silver coin has the King's bust in armour, with a good helmet. The rev. has a hog, with very long pricked ears, see no. 1. in class II. The inscription on the rev. has been just now considered.

(1) So Dr. Pettingal, p. 5. and Alford. "Obscurior vox illa NOVANE; "Nisi forte Nouantum, vel Trinobantum urbem, Britanniæ principem, velis "accipere," p. 4. And so Baxter, p. 184, 231. "in Britannico quodam "nummulo etiam NOVANEI, sive potius NOVANTI, legitur pro Trinovantes."

(2) See also Univ. Hist. XIX. p. 130.

(3) See also Mr. Baxter, p. 230.

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No. 3.

The King's head on this ſilver coin has a cap on, not greatly unlike the 1ſt in claſs III. Walker talks of it being the head of a city. Apollo playing on the rev. has been before noticed. This coin is evidently the production of the ſame hand as no. 1. in this claſs, and the inſcription TASC VANIT, ſeems to import it was coined at one of the Ventæ, perhaps at Venta Silurum, ſince we find Caratacus, the ſon of Cunobelin, figuring at the head of this nation; or, if Mr. Baxter be right in thinking Cunobelin was King of the Iceni, at Venta Icenorum (1), the word at length would be VANITAE, where A is for E, and I is inſerted, as we have ſeen it before. Quære, whether, as this coin ſo much reſembles no. 1. of this claſs, that word be not miſdivided and miſread, and we ought not to read, TASCIO VANE, for TASC NOVANE, as it is given above. This ſuppoſition will not exclude the Novantes from our coins, becauſe Mr. Duane's coin, the 5th in this claſs, ſo plainly has TASC NOVA. Walker is ſo abſurd as to think VANIT the ſame as VANOC, in Camden I. 14.

(1) Horſeley, p. 17. ſeems to think Caſſivellaun was monarch of the Iceni; if ſo, Cunobelin probably alſo was. See him again, p. 31, 34. Thus Mr. Baxter, in regard of Cunobelin, "Crediderim etiam Icenorum "fuiſſe Regem, adeoque Brigantici generis, quod Caratacum filium præ- "fecerit Siluribus, et Togodumnum (uti ex nomine conjicio) Dobunis.... "Quinetiam, autore Dione, Camulodunum regni ejus caput fuerat; quod "cum in finibus Icenimagnorum fuerit, illorum juris initio fuiſſe cenſendum "eſt, cum in Ptolemæo ſit Trinoüantum." So again, p. 67. he calls Cunobelin King of the *Uigantes* or *Iceni*. And ſee him, p. 64, 70, 137.

No.

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No. 4.

This copper coin repreſents plainly the King's head à la Romaine, and on the rev. a Centaur. The inſcription has been already remarked.

No. 5.

On this ſilver piece there is a very fine Hercules, as has been before mentioned. The rev. gives a woman riding ſideways on an animal, but uncertain what; for it does not ſeem to be Europa's bull, nor Cybele's lion. Cybele was both a Gauliſh deity (1), and a Britiſh one, according to Richard of Cirenceſter, p. 9. But this creature has more the appearance of a dog; and Mr. Thoreſby ſpeaks of a dog on a coin of his, Muſeum, p. 338. The inſcription TASC NOVA has been above conſidered.

CLASS V.

No. 1.

THIS is a very capital coin in ſilver, ſuppoſed, and with great reaſon, to repreſent the head of Auguſtus Cæſar, with TASCIA, which perhaps may be the true orthography of the name on the obv. and on the rev. a

(1) Montf. II. p. 279.

fine bull, puſhing with his horns, intended perhaps for the ſign Taurus, as in that coin of Auguſtus, Lord Pembr. III. pl. 94. The laureate diadem, after this time, ſeems to have grown common in Britain; for which ſee Mr. Borlaſe, p. 244, bis, 245, ſæpe, and p. 246, bis; and quære, whether that ſtrange piece of work on the coin which Dr. Plott took to be Praſutagus and Boadicea, may not have been deſigned for ſomething of this kind.

No. 2.

A gold coin of Mr. Speed's, with Cunobelin on horſe-back, and the inſcription TASCO on the obverſe. This, Mr. Speed, as has been remarked, aſcribes to Caſſivel-laun, but on no good grounds (1). It is not certainly known, what the device on the rev. of this coin is, but it ſeems to be a flower, ſee Walker in Camden col. CXI. and yet Mr. Borlaſe, p. 243. ſpeaks of two dolphins turning their crooked backs to each other, of which I can diſcern no manner of reſemblance.

No. 3.

This piece was fully conſidered along with the laſt.

No. 4.

This, which is ſilver, has a horſe, with a ſhield in the form of a lozenge, hanging on his ſide, on the obv. and only the letters TASC in a compartment on the rev. 'Tis

(1) See above pag. 35, 36.

 a doubt

a doubt with me, whether it be a ſtone horſe, or whether it be not mounted by a rider imperfectly expreſſed.

No. 5.

This coin is of electrum, and has a horſe on the gallop, with TASC on the obv. and on the rev. TASCIO, or TASCI. As for the ſameneſs of the legend on both ſides, ſee above, claſs I. no. 2.

Thoreſby in Muſ. p. 338.

" This is the largeſt of ſilver, and very fair: On the " convex ſide a head well performed; in the concave a " dog and TA, the initials of TASCIA or tribute money, " under a man on horſeback."

CLASS VI.

No. 1.

THIS ſilver coin, we ſuppoſe, was ſtruck at Verulam, and ſo does Mr. Horſeley (1), and W. Vallans (2). There is a good horſe galloping on the rev. with the name, and, as I think, correctly written, TASCIA. Mr. Camd. col. CXIII. by miſtake, reads VERV, and Vallans

(1) P. 15. where, as alſo p. 30, ſee much about this place.
(2) Vallans in Lel. Itin. V. p. xv.

more

more corruptly TASC. VERVL. Mr. Wiſe interprets it, " Vernemetum, or Verbinum, or Veronum, of Gallia " Belgica," acknowledging that our people explain it of Verulam, as indeed all in general do. The coin is engraved by Mr. Hearne, in Lel. Itin. V. p. v.

No. 2.

Cunobelin is mounted on this gold coin, in a fighting poſture, with his ſword (1) and ſhield, on a galloping horſe; and the inſcription is CEARATIC, which we imagine to be the name of ſome town in his territory, tho' at preſent unknown. Camden gueſſes it to be a coin of the warlike Caratacus; and certainly, if Caratacus, or Caractacus, coined any money, this piece may be thought to have ſome pretenſion to him. " Ego autem," ſays Mr. Wiſe, " ad Carretanos Vaſconum Hiſpaniæ gentem re- " ferre malim." Walker obſerves, that ſome read it EPATICA, which, ſays he, may keep its native ſignification, ſince we find parſley, the palm, vine, myrtle, cynogloſſum, laſerpitium, and other plants, ſometimes figured, ſometimes only named, upon coins; as you may ſee in Spanhemius. I differ, however, from all theſe authors, on account of the rev. which has an ear of corn, with a corrupt inſcription TASCIE; a clear evidence with me, that the true owner of the piece is Cunobelin, the patron and friend of Taſcia.

AFTER finiſhing this ſhort deſcription of the coins, we will try, my Lord, if you pleaſe, what inſtruction, or mat-

(1) Camden calls it a ſpear.

ters

ters of erudition, this curious cabinet will afford us; how far they may ſerve to illuſtrate the antiquities of our country, or contribute to confirm thoſe few notices, which the antients have left us concerning it.

I ſhall begin with the Prince himſelf: His life was prolonged to a great age, ſince he flouriſhed in the reigns of Auguſtus, Tiberius, and Caligula, whoſe power he revered, and whoſe friendſhip he cultivated. The intercourſe between the Romans and Britons, in his time, was frequent and conſiderable, much greater than commonly imagined; and extremely beneficial it proved to his ſubjects, as may appear in the ſequel. He ſeems to have been of a very martial diſpoſition; for tho' he choſe, upon prudence, to live in amity and good harmony with the Romans, whoſe impoſts were moderate, yet we ſee him in armour upon the coins: There alſo we ſee Hercules, Victory, his own head laureate (1); and on one piece, according to the opinion of Mr. Camden, the God Mars (2). However, his veneration for this deity is abundantly conſpicuous from the name he impoſed on his metropolis, Camulodunum, importing its conſecration to Camulus, the Celtic, or Britiſh, name of the God of War. There is reaſon to believe he was engaged in almoſt continual wars with the neighbouring ſtates in the iſland, and therein was very ſucceſsful (3); inſomuch, that the goddeſs of Victory appears with propriety upon his money.

(1) Claſs III. no. 10.
(2) See the 2d claſs.
(3) See what will be ſaid below of his dominions, and the enlargement of them, by himſelf.

Cunobelin's

Cunobelin's devotion was little leſs to the Roman muſical deity Apollo, as appears from the coins, to which in this part of the eſſay my deſign is chiefly to confine myſelf. He bore the name, as has been obſerved, of this deity, according to the notion and idea the Britons entertained of him; a circumſtance which would infallibly diſpoſe him, as ſoon as he was informed of the conformity or identity of the Latin and Auguſtean Apollo, to communicate and extend his adorations unto him. Auguſtus had an eſpecial regard for this deity, and Cunobelin omitted no opportunity of making his court to that Emperor; hence came his effigies, and the Sphinx, upon the coins that iſſued from his mints: But Cunobelin's veneration for Apollo, or Belinus, we may have occaſion to touch upon again hereafter.

Our Prince was not only warlike, but alſo great and powerful; his family was flouriſhing, and his dominions extenſive; three of his ſons have been already mentioned, but it appears from Tacitus he had ſeveral more; the brothers of Caratacus (tho' Togodumnus was then dead, and it is not known what was become of Adminius) being taken captives along with him, and carried to Rome (1). His Queen appears, as we think, upon his coins, claſs II. no. 6. claſs III. no. 6. (2); and Mr. Baxter, who loves to indulge in conjectures (in which he is ſagacious, but often not a little viſionary), is of opinion, he was the huſband of Cartiſmandua, Queen of the Brigantes (3), ſhe being his ſecond wife, and ſurviving him (4).

(1) Tacitus Annal. XII. c. 35, 37.
(2) That in claſs III. no. 3. perhaps may be doubtful.
(3) Baxter, Gloſſ. voc. CUNOBELINUS.
(4) Carte, p. 110. and Baxter, Gloſſ. p. 67, 70, 137.

As

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As to the other point I mentioned, to wit, his dominions, " Cunobelin, Prince of the Cattuvellauni, who " had, ſince Julius Cæſar's time, to uſe the words of " Mr. Carte, extended their territories ſo, as to bring the " Trinovantes (among whom Ptolemy places Camulo- " dunum) the Dobuni, and other clans of people under " their vaſſalage, was, by this acceſſion of dominion, the " moſt powerful Prince in the iſland (1)." This author obſerves, he made his ſon Togodumnus, Governor of the Dobuni, as his name imports (2). That Caratacus " pro- " bably preſided over thoſe quarters of the country of " the Cattuvellauni, that lay next the Silures, and poſ- " ſeſſed them in property after his father's death; if he " did not, by the excluſion of Adminius the eldeſt of " the brothers, ſucceed him in all his other dominions. " Adminius ſeems, in Cunobelin's life-time, to have pre- " ſided over the Trinovantes (3)." The ſame author, in another place, remarks, that the territories of Cattuvellauni " now reached from Lincolnſhire eaſtward, thro' " the ſhires of Northampton and Worceſter, to the banks " of the Severn weſtward.—Bedford and Hertfordſhire, " and the weſtern part of Middleſex, were their antient " poſſeſſions; which they had much enlarged by con- " queſts over the Belgic Britains, that lay contiguous to " them; having, in Cunobelin's time, reduced the Tri- " novantes (who inhabited the reſt of Middleſex, and a " great part of Eſſex) the Ancalites, and part of the Do-

(1) Carte, p. 98.
(2) Carte, p. 98. and 100. Alſo Baxter, Gloſſ. in voc. DOBUNI, CUNOBELINUS, TOGODUMNUS, ICENI. Dio, p. 779.
(3) Carte, ibid.

"buni ſettled; the one in the hills of Bucks and Oxford-"ſhire, near Henley, the other in the vale of Ayleſbury, "and the lower part of the latter county (1)." Perhaps the author may not be preciſely right in all this (2); but his opinion, that the territories of Cunobelin were large, is undoubtedly true. Mr. Baxter, who eſteems Cunobelin to have been the Ardirag or Pendragon of the whole iſland (3), thinks he had inveſted his ſon Caratacus with the government over the Silures (4). The places mentioned in the coins, are Camulodonum in Eſſex, Verulam in Hertfordſhire, Venta Silurum, or Icenorum, Cearatic and ɯcv, two places which yet want to be inveſtigated, in which I ſhould be glad of your Lordſhip's aſſiſtance (5).

But leaving this martial and politic Prince, for ſuch we may juſtly ſtile him, in regard of his artful and prudent conduct towards the Romans, throughout the whole extent of his long reign, we will now turn to ſomething elſe. And here we may obſerve, in the firſt place, how early the theology of Pagan Rome began to creep into this iſland. We have upon this one ſet of coins, Janus, the muſical Apollo, Victory, Hercules, Pegaſus, the Sphinx, and the Centaur. The original Britiſh deities, we are told, were of moſt ſhapeleſs and horrible forms (6), without any thing amiable or inviting in them; and ſuch, I

(1) Carte, p. 100.
(2) Compare Horſeley, p. 33. ſeq.
(3) Baxt. Gl. voc. CUNOBELINUS, CARATACUS, ICENI.
(4) ——— voc. CARATACUS, TOGODUMNUS, ICENI.
(5) Quære, Whether the firſt may not mean Chertſey?
(6) So Gildas, "Nec enumerans patriæ portenta ipſa diabolica, pene "numero vincentia Ægyptiaca (quorum nonnulla, lineamentis adhuc de-"formibus intra vel extra deſerta mœnia, ſolito more rigentia torvis vulti-"bus intuemur) neque, &c." p. 12.

preſume,

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preſume, was the goddeſs Andraſta, and probably Cunobelin's own Camulus, as alſo Mars Braciaca (1), and Cernunnos (2); but theſe new figures preſented them with ſomething of a more gentle kind, and more pleaſing to the eye; and no doubt the agreeableneſs of their portraits contributed greatly to facilitate their reception. We may depend upon it, that the rites and ceremonies attendant on the worſhip of theſe heathen deities, all entered the country along with them; inſomuch, that in Cunobelin's reign, and very principally by the means of Taſcio, his learned and ſkilful artiſt, the Britons were inſtructed very amply, both in the old Greek and Roman theology, and in the various and accuſtomed modes of their worſhip.

The Roman letters alſo, the elements of their learning, were introduced at the ſame time with their religion. This now was in truth a moſt noble and uſeful acquiſition, and in all appearance accompanied the perſon of Taſcio; and if the natives of this iſland did not enjoy, till his arrival, the uſe and benefit of alphabetical letters, as ſome have thought, the bleſſing was ineſtimably great: However, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Roman letters did not arrive ſingly, but were attended, as with a natural effect, with ſome portions of their knowledge, ſome glimmerings of the Roman arts and ſciences. The uſe of coined money was evidently, upon our hypotheſis, imported at this juncture, together with the art of making and ſtriking it. This certainly was an unſpeakable advantage in conducting the little trade they had; for though, as has been alledged, traffic and commerce may

(1) See above.
(2) Montf. II. p. 271.

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be carried on in a crude and ſuperficial manner, even without money, and rather better by pieces of metal, rings, or tallies, adjuſted to a certain weight; yet a ſtamp or impreſſion upon the pieces, when generally known and approved, muſt be allowed as to have vaſtly the preference, ſo to expedite, to ſhorten and promote the grand affair of commerce in all ſhapes. In ſhort, the art the Britons became poſſeſſed of by Taſcio's means, was ſo beneficial in its nature to them, that they were not permitted, by thoſe who were afterwards their maſters, to practiſe it for any long continuance (1).

The Britiſh coins found at Karn Brè, are ſaid to be of pure gold; and Mr. Thoresby ſpeaks of ſome of pure ſilver, of good braſs and copper, or of iron (2); but in general the coins of Cunobelin are far from being of a fine texture, whether gold, or ſilver, or braſs; from whence it may ſeem plain, that the Britons learnt the art, at this time, of mixing and alloying their metals to advantage; an invention, which, whatever might become of the art of coining amongſt them, could not fail of being extremely ſerviceable to them in other reſpects, in the fabrication both of their utenſils and arms. However, it muſt not be diſſembled, in this place, that Dr. Plott (3) thinks the electrum, uſed by the Britons, was of the native, and not of the factitious kind, becauſe the matter of the coins is not of an equal or uniform mixture, but ſome of it is richer in gold than other. But, for my part, I find no

(1) See what has been ſaid above, on the ſtop which the Romans put to the Britiſh mints.

(2) Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 337.

(3) See alſo Thoreſby, l. c. This author doubts, however, p. 338.

inſtance

inſtance of a native electrum ever found here; and therefore ſo long as the art of compounding metals might be taught the Britons by the Romans, there is no need to have recourſe to an exotic mineral. The variety, or the fluctuating proportions of the allay, is no concluſive argument in favour of a native electrum being uſed, ſince ſuch variation might juſt as well happen in a compound made by art. The ſilver of the coins, moreover, is as much allayed as the gold (1); wherefore as the Britons, or Taſcio for them, debaſed this metal ſo much, is it not exceeding probable they did the ſame by the other? Nay, one cannot imagine the Britons ſhould be able to make braſs, without their underſtanding more of the metallurgic art than theſe authors ſeem to ſuppoſe. The celts, as they are called, which with Mr. Hearne's leave (2) are Britiſh, and not Roman implements, as has been lately ſhewn by an able hand (3), are evidently of braſs, being a compoſition of copper and tin, or lead (4); that is, as Dr. Richardſon aſſerts, of two parts of coarſe copper, and one of lead (5).

But the Roman cuſtoms and manners in general ſeem to have gained a footing here in this reign. Cunobelin appears in armour, and Apollo is playing upon his harp. The firſt indicating the beginning, probably, of the uſe of defenſive armour, and the other the introduction of the Roman lyre. For though, amongſt the ſeveral articles of the druidical ſuperſtition, and their perſonal qualifica-

(1) Wiſe, p. 227.
(2) Hearne, in Lel. Itin. I. p. 117. ſeq.
(3) Borlaſe, p. 263.
(4) Borlaſe, p. 267, 271, 272.
(5) Richardſon, in Lel. Itin. I. p. 141.

tions and accompliſhments, we hear of their muſical ſkill; yet their performances, we may imagine, were but rude and inharmonious, compared with the execution of Greece and Rome: Muſic, one has reaſon to think, received great improvement in Britain at this juncture, and conſequently that the Welſh and Iriſh harps, but ill-ſhapen before, were from thenceforward modelled more after the Apollinarian or Roman manner.

Theſe, we will ſuppoſe, were but ſlender commencements; but, however, they laid the foundation of thoſe vaſt advancements and improvements, which afterwards enſued, when the nation had ſo far adopted and cultivated the Roman manners, as to be noticed for it by the hiſtorians (1); and, as Gildas teſtifies, to deſerve to be called the *Roman iſland*. Mr. Walker is of opinion, and one cannot help joining with him, that the ingreſs and admiſſion of the Roman manners and cuſtoms into the iſland, ſo greatly tending to ſoften and meliorate the natural ferocity of the inhabitants, contributed mightily to facilitate the reception of the Chriſtian religion (2) ſoon after. Inſomuch, that the firſt invaſion of the iſland by Julius Cæſar, the correſpondence afterwards maintained with the Romans by Cunobelin, and the progreſs of the imperial arms in the reign of Claudius, ſeem to have been permitted and directed by an all-wiſe providence, for the ſalutary purpoſe of civilizing and converting this heathen nation, from the groſsneſs of error and ſuperſtition, to the truth and purity of the Chriſtian faith (3).

(1) Tacitus, Vit. Agric. c. 21. Pettingal, p. 6. Walker, in Camd. col. CXVII.
(2) Walker, ibid.
(3) Alford, p. 2.

To

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To turn back for a moment to affairs of ſcience. The Druids, or at leaſt one order of them, as we are told by the antients (1), was deeply engaged in phyſiology, or the ſtudy of natural things; and, amongſt other branches of the ſubject, did not neglect the phænomena of the heavens. The moon, when ſix days old, was very principally regarded by them, the miſletoe being cut, "Sexta "Luna, quæ, ſays Pliny, principia menſium annorum- "que his facit, et ſeculi poſt tricesimum annum, quia "jam virium abunde habeat, nec ſit ſui dimidia (2)." The creſcent was conſequently in great vogue with them (3); as alſo the moon was at other ages (4).

But allowing the Druids to have been already poſſeſſed of ſome uſeful aſtronomical obſervations, their ſtock of knowledge this way was undoubtedly much increaſed by the acceſſion of that ſuperior ſkill, which the Greeks and Romans therein had. For tho' the Greeks were reckoned to excel the Romans in this ſcience at firſt (5), the Romans by this time had naturalized all their learning. Sun, moon, ſtars and comets, all make their appearance on the coins; and ſome ſmall ſparks of ſcience, relative to them, would of courſe attend them; more, I mean, than what they could boaſt of before: For how highly ſoever the ſkill and knowledge of the Druids, in theſe celeſtial matters, may by certain authors have been extolled, one has no reaſon to think they exceeded the Romans therein,

(1) Amm. Marcel. XV. c. 9. Cæſar, de B. G. VI. c. 14. Strabo IV. p. 197. Cic. de Divin. I. c. 41.
(2) Plin. N. H. XVI. c. 44.
(3) See below; as alſo Montf. tom. II. p. 278. on Plate LXI. no. 2.
(4) Plin. XXIX. c. 3. unleſs the ſame ſixth day be there meant.
(5) Virg. Æn. VI. 848.

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but rather muſt have been vaſtly inferior to them. But this affair of the ſtars and creſcents will be reſumed hereafter.

At preſent, let us ſee in what manner theſe remains of Cunobelin's reign may aſſiſt in corroborating the accounts given us of the manners of the antient Britons, by the hiſtorians; and how far the coins, and the written monuments, mutually conſpire to illuſtrate and confirm one another. This, I preſume, is one material uſe to be made of the coins of any antient nation whatſoever.

That the Britons had gold within themſelves, has been noted above; and both Strabo and Tacitus inform us, they had ſilver; and they are well ſupported by the metal of many of the coins, which conſiſt of thoſe materials, tho' often debaſed.

We here ſee the ſwine (1); and the connexion between the wild boar and the foreſt, is in a manner natural. Thus Arabia, for want of woodlands, produces no hogs (2); and the old provincial ſaying, concerning the county of Nottingham, ran, on account of its vaſt foreſt,

"Notynghamſhire ful of hogges (3)."

And as the Britons ſubſiſted ſo much upon fleſh, refuſing even to taſte fiſh (4), and having no corn in the interior of the iſland, this animal muſt have been in the higheſt requeſt, as alſo it was among the Belgæ of Gaul (5).

(1) See alſo the account of Bericus's coin above, and Pliny, Lib. XXIV. c. 11.
(2) Mr. Sale's Prelim. Diſſ. to the Koran, p. 170.
(3) Leland. Itin. V. p. XXVI.
(4) Xiphilinus.
(5) Strabo IV. p. 197.

And

And no doubt, but as hunting is particularly noted by Xiphilinus (1), as an exercise to which they were much addicted, this beast was certainly one principal object of it. The wilds and forests of Britain were immense, at the time the Romans first came hither; there were no less than three vast Caledonian woods (2), to take no notice of others (3). In one coin the hog stands besides a tree, and trees are not unfrequently represented on the Karn Bré coins. These trees were probably the oak, held in such profound veneration here, on account of the tree itself, the grove it formed, and the mistletoe it produced (4); and not a little, I conceive, in respect of the acorn, the best and most fattening food, in a state of nature, for the animal in question. More therefore is signified by the boar on the coins, than Mr. Walker suggests, viz. that he was an emblem of strength; and indeed, were this all, it would not so well accord with a sow and pigs in one of the British coins (5). The beech, 'tis true, affords a good mast; but Cæsar tells us Britain was then without this tree, "Materia cujusque "generis, ut in Gallia est, præter abietem atque fa- "gum (6)." Dr. Plott, however, cavils at this, vouching it as an instance of the great negligence and supine-

(1) See also what is said below on the British dogs.
(2) See my dissertation on the Coritani.
(3) See Lel. Itin. VI. p. 104, 137. The forests were numerous after the Norman conq. See Spelm. Gl. voc. FORESTA; and yet he has not mentioned all.
(4) Pliny, N. H. XVI. c. 44. "Nihil habent Druidæ ... viſco et arbore, "in qua gignatur (ſi modo ſit Robur) ſacratius. Jam per ſe Roborum eli- "gunt lucos, nec ulla ſacra ſine ea fronde conficiunt, &c."
(5) Wiſe, p. 95.
(6) Cæſ. de B. G. V. c. 12.

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neſs with which Cæſar has conducted himſelf in his account of Britain, and obſerving the great plenty of this timber in the Chiltern (1), which alſo grows moſt freely and naturally in Kent, where the names of many places are plainly borrowed from it (2); a clear evidence of the trees flouriſhing there in the Saxon times. But all this notwithſtanding, the beech may have been adventitious, and been brought hither from the continent ſince Cæſar's time. Nobody that obſerved how kindly this timber tree grows in the Rae wood, at Caſtle-Howard, would ever imagine there was not one of the ſort there in Queen Elizabeth's time; and yet, I have been credibly informed, there was not.

No animal appears ſo frequently on our coins as the horſe, and the country was deſervedly famous for its horſes: "I conceive, ſays Mr. Walker, the horſe was ſo "frequently ſtamped on their coins, becauſe of their extraordinary goodneſs in this country (the like is upon "divers cities and provinces in Gallia) or to ſhew that "they were, in their own opinion, excellent horſemen (3)." Sometimes we have only a horſe, ſometimes a wheel with the horſe; in which caſe we have reaſon to think the maſter pointed to the eſſedum of the Britons. Mr. Walker, however, ſeems to be of a different opinion; "The wheel under him [the horſe], amongſt the Ro"mans, intimated the making of an highway for carts: "So many of which being in the Roman times made in

(1) Plott, Oxfordſh. p. 51. and 312.
(2) As Boſton, Buckland, &c.
(3) See alſo Dio apud Xiphilinum, and Dr. Muſgrave, I. p. 168. where he thinks horſes were probably one of the Britiſh exports.

"this

this country, well deſerved ſuch a memorial (1)." Dr. Plott, and Mr. Thoreſby, ſeem to concur with him in this (2).

But as the roads were made long after this reign (3), theſe coins may with more reaſon be thought to allude to the eſſedum, eſpecially as the wheel is ſeen upon coins that are undoubtedly Cunobelin's (4). It has been thought, the appearance of the horſe indicated theſe coins to have been of Phœnician extraction (5); but Mr. Borlaſe very juſtly rejects that notion; and that matter is here alſo ſufficiently cleared, ſince the animal occurs on the ſpecie of this Prince, who had no dealings either with the Tyrians or Carthaginians.

It appears from Cæſar and Pomp. Mela, that the Britons in their military made uſe of horſe, properly ſo called, as well as eſſeda; and accordingly we here ſee horſes mounted with riders. And the horſe on one coin, though not one of Cunobelin's (6), Mr. Walker thought "was faſtened by one fore and the oppoſite hinder foot, "to ſome weight; as if it ſignified the invention of one "of their Princes, to teach them ſome pace or motion." One knows not what to think of a refinement ſo extraordinary; but nevertheleſs, that the Britons were very expert with their cavalry is clear, for they annoyed Cæſar very greatly with it. It is always thought allowable to argue from the manners and cuſtoms of the Gauls, to

(1) Walker, in Camd. col. CX, CXVI.
(2) Plott, Oxfordſh. p. 310. Thoreſby, Muſ. p. 338.
(3) See Camd. col. LXXIX. Lel. Itin. VI. p. 121.
(4) See Mr. Borlaſe, p. 260, 262.
(5) Idem, p. 247.
(6) Camd. I. 6.

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thoſe of the Britons; and it is believed that antiently the Gauls rode without bridles (1); from whence it is probable the Britons did ſo too. But in Cæſar's time, who made much uſe of the Gauliſh cavalry, bridles were uſed; and Strabo mentions ivory bridles as an article imported into Britain from Gaul (2); and accordingly the horſes on the coins, ſuch as are mounted with riders, are all bridled.

To return to the wheel: Mr. Wiſe thinks this may denote a triumphal chariot (3); if ſo, it has a manifeſt alluſion to the Roman cuſtom, the triumph being a cavalcade entirely unknown then in this country. In one caſe you have the horſe joined with a creſcent; and quære, whether as the Britiſh Apollo was the ſun, the horſe was not in this inſtance his repreſentative? For it muſt be remembered, that much of the Britiſh, or Druidical religion, was brought from the Eaſt, where the horſe was ſacred to the ſun, according to that of Ovid,

Placat equo Perſes radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo.
Faſt. I. 385.

In that famous repreſentation of the deſtruction of the children of Niobe, by Apollo and Diana, in the Villa Medicea at Rome, a horſe leaps on one of the daughters,

(1) Dodwell, de Parma Equeſtr. Woodw. Hearne, in Lel. Itin. I. p. 128.
(2) Strabo IV. p. 200.
(3) Wiſe, p. 227.

as

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as being the favourite beaſt, and the coadjutor of Apollo in that murderous buſineſs (1).

The horſe therefore on this coin may repreſent the ſun, as the creſcent does the moon, with whom, as has been before noted, the Druids had great concern. And it is thought by etymologiſts, that the name Cunobelin is formed from Belinus, the name of a Britiſh deity correſponding with Apollo (2). Camden writes, he had ſomewhere obſerved of the god Belinus, that the Gauls worſhipped Apollo under that name. " This is confirmed, he goes on, " by Dioſcorides, who expreſly ſays, that " the Herba Apollinaris (in the juice whereof the Gauls " uſed to dip their arrows) was called in Gauliſh, Beli- " nuntia. From which I durſt almoſt make this inference, " that the name of Cunobeline, as alſo that of Caſſibilin, " came originally from the worſhip of Apollo, as well as " Phœbitius and Delphidius; unleſs you ſhould rather " ſay, that as Apollo, for his yellow hair, was called by " the Greeks, Ξανθὸς, and by the Latins, *Flavus*; ſo he " was called by the Britons and Gauls, *Belin:* Since a " man of a yellow complexion, is in Britiſh called *Me-* " *lin*, *Belin*, *Felin*; and for that reaſon, the antient " names of Belin, Cunobelin, and Caſſibelin (called alſo " Caſſivellaun) ſeem to import as much as *yellow*

(1) Montf. tom. I. p. 66. whom ſee II. p. 256. as likewiſe the annotators in Burman's edit. of Ovid, l. c. and Patrick on 2 Kings XXIII. 11.

(2) Montf. II. p. 263, 267. Sammes, p. 130. Alford, p. 4. Toland, p. 67, 77. Baxter, Gl. voc. Bel. Selden de Diis Syris, Synt. II. c. 1. et Beyeri Additamenta, p. 278. Mr. Hearne notes, that Apollo was in the higheſt requeſt with the Britons, Lel. Itin. VIII. p. xviii.

" *Princes*

" *Princes* (1)." The former part of the name Cun or Cuno, is thought by ſeveral to be a name of dignity (2).

Quære then, whether thoſe circles on Cunobelin's coins, which authors ſo frequently call wheels, are in fact ſuch, and are not rather repreſentations or figures of the ſun. Thus claſs II. no. 2. the ſun is under the horſe's belly, and a comet over his back, by way of explaining the meaning of the horſe there. In no. 4. of that claſs, the creſcent appears plainly in Mr. Battely's type. The creſcent appears again, tho' imperfectly, claſs III. no. 4. and 8. and in claſs II. no. ult. you have the horſe, with the ſun, and a ſtar of ſix points; and if I may be allowed, on this occaſion, to cite a few coins of other Princes or ſtates, I would refer your Lordſhip to Camden I. 12. where there is a ſtar of five points; I. 25. and 26. on both which is the ſun with a horſe; II. 9. where there is ſeen ſun, moon, and ſtars; II. 21, 31, 32. and Lord Pembroke, Part II. pl. 94. no. 9. and Battely, tab. VI. where the ſtar of five points, with the horſe and ſun, occurs. Mr. Borlaſe, indeed, ſeems to doubt whether a figure on one of the Karn-Brê coins, be a creſcent, ſaying, " It might poſſibly be intended to repreſent the golden " hook, with which their prieſts with ſo much ſolemnity " cut their divine miſletoe, or to record the hooks or " ſcythes faſtened to the axis of their chariots of war, for " ſuch they had; and on theſe coins [of Karn-Brê] we " find ſeveral alluſions to this manner of fighting (3)."

(1) Camd. col. CX. See alſo Alford, p. 4. and Selden, de Diis Syris, l. c. and the additamenta.
(2) See above.
(3) Borlaſe, p. 261.

But

But with ſubmiſſion, upon our coins, they are evidently creſcents. And what is moſt remarkable in the caſe, the horſes on the coins here referred to are all without riders, differing in this reſpect from the other coins of Cunobelin; and thereby inſinuating, they were not war horſes, but were intended to repreſent ſomething elſe, probably to be emblems of the ſun.

The Aborigines of Britain lived much, as Cæſar tells us, upon fleſh and milk: *Pecoris magnus numerus*, and again, *Interiores plerique frumenta non ſerunt, ſed lacte et carne vivunt, pellibuſque ſunt veſtiti* (1). And ſee here on our coins the ſheep and cow. Walker pretends the bull was an emblem of ſtrength; but ſomething more characteriſtical, I apprehend, is rather propounded to us by this animal; either the white bull, in ſo much requeſt with the Druids, Plin. lib. XVI. c. 44, or rather their reliance on this creature for ſo large a part of their ſubſiſtence, and their regard and veneration for him and the cow upon that account. It appears likewiſe from Strabo, that Britain abounded with milk, tho' the natives had not the art of making cheeſe (2): And yet Mr. Hearne pretends our ancient Britons lived much upon milk and *cheeſe* (3). However, it is to be obſerved, that they had the figures of beaſts or cattle cut upon their bodies (4). Your Lordſhip will pleaſe to obſerve, that Cæſar above

(1) See alſo Dio Nicæus in Xiphilinus, and Pomp. Mela III. c. 6. This was partly the caſe of the Suevi, Cæſ. IV. 1. and the Belgæ of Gaul, Strabo IV. p. 197. and indeed of many other uncivilized nations, both antiently, and at this day.

(2) Strabo IV. p. 200.

(3) Hearne, in Leland. Itin. I. p. 124.

(4) Ibid.

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ſpeaks of the interior of Britain; for in the parts where he was chiefly converſant, there was corn (1). And I incline to think, that though in his time the Mediterranean countries had little or no experience in agriculture, yet in the reign of Cunobelin they began to practiſe it, imitating therein, both the Romans, and the maritime ſtates of their own country. This may fairly be collected from the ears of corn ſo common upon the coins (2). Strabo ſays, that *ſome* of the Britons knew neither gardening, nor any other part of huſbandry, which might be true of the moſt diſtant and leaſt civilized parts, tho' not of the reſt, ſince both he himſelf and Diod. Siculus teſtify, that other parts had corn; and it appears from Pliny, that in his time they manured their ground with marle (3). Viewing the ſpicæ upon the coins, one is very apt to fancy they repreſent not ears of wheat, but of barley, being ſo much and ſo apparently bearded, and the drink of the Britons being certainly made of that, as now it is with us. I ſhall here give your Lordſhip, Mr. Camden's words on this ſubject: " Their drink was made of barley (and ſo " it is with us at this day) as Dioſcorides ſays, who miſ- " names it Curmi for Kwrw; for ſo the Welſh term " what we call Ale (4); and again, " This is our barley " wine, which Julian the apoſtate ingeniouſly calls, in " an epigram of his, Πυρογενῆ, ἢ ζρόμον ἐ ζρόμιον, *The* " *offspring of corn, and wine without wine.* This is the " antient and peculiar liquor of the Engliſh and Britains,

(1) Cæſ. IV. 30. ſeq. Strabo IV. p. 199.
(2) See Camden, col. CXII.
(3) Plin. N. H. XVII. c. 6.
(4) Camd. col. XLII.

" and very wholeſome it is . . . one of the moſt learned " men in France [Turnebus] does not queſtion, but they " who drink this liquor, if they avoid exceſs, will live " longer than if they drank wine; and that this is the " cauſe why ſome among us that drink ale, live to the " age of an hundred years: Yet Aſclepiades in Plutarch " (ſpeaking of ſome Britains who lived to the age of one " hundred and twenty years) aſcribes it to the coldneſs of " the climate, which preſerves the natural heat of their " bodies (1)." Cunobelin, it has been obſerved, lived to a great age, but the number of his years is not known. The longævity of the Britons is aſcribed by Mr. Hearne, with much probability, to their temperance and milk diet (2).

I ſhall mention but one animal more, and that is the dog. Dr. Caius has left us a treatiſe de Canibus Britannicis, and it has been ſeveral times printed. Strabo notes that the Britiſh dogs were excellent for hunting, and were exported from hence for that purpoſe (3); but the ſpecies here in queſtion, ſeems to be that large and furious animal, which the ſame author informs us was alſo an article of merchandize, as being purchaſed by the Celtæ or Gauls, and entertained by them for the ſervice of war (4). One of thoſe dogs was repreſented on a coin of Mr. Thoreſby's (5), and another is here delineated, claſs IV. no. ult. as carrying a lady on his back, a proof of the

(1) Camden, col. 588.
(2) Lel. Itin. I. p. 124.
(3) Strabo IV. p. 199.
(4) Strabo IV. p. 200.
(5) Deſcribed in his Muſ. p. 338.

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ſtrength and ſize of this maſtiff. The learned Camden, my Lord, has a notable paſſage concerning the Britiſh dogs; but, as it is too long to tranſcribe, I ſhall content myſelf with referring your Lordſhip to him (1). However, I may remark, that in Montfaucon, tom. II. plate 58. you have the repreſentation of "a combat between a "lion and ſome other animal; which, by reaſon of the "poorneſs of the graving, is ſcarce diſtinguiſhable, toge- "ther with an inſcription, BELLICVS SVRBVR, altogether "as barbarous as the figures." This is the account the author there gives of it. The word BELLICVS is written under what he calls the lion, but in my opinion is one of the Britiſh dogs of the maſtiff and fighting kind, carried to Gaul, or one of that breed; the name *Bellicus* being well adapted to a beaſt of ſuch ſtrength and courage, as we muſt ſuppoſe thoſe were which the Gauls employed in their wars. The other animal, which the dog is going to encounter, if we may judge from the type, is undoubtedly a boar; the word written underneath it, SVRBVR, ſeems to imply as much, from BERRES, *i. e.* VERRES (2), or *Bora*, the Corniſh word for a boar (3), and SVR denoting great; or, if you will admit SVR to be for SVS, the s changed into R, as in E. Lhuyd, p. 30. and Baxt. Gl. voc. ADMINIVS, BORR may then ſignify *magnus*, as in Lhuyd, p. 84. SVRBVR in both caſes will mean *a great boar*.

I turn now to ſomething elſe. Theſe coins are alloyed with lead and tin, the latter of which, did we want his au-

(1) Camd. col. 139. See alſo Lewis, p. 55. ſeq.
(2) Idem Tit. VIII. p. 271. voc. BOAR.
(3) E. Lhuyd, Tit. II. voc. APER. Borlaſe's Corn. Engl. Vocab. voc. BORA.

thority,

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thority, Cæſar ſays, grew in the iſland (1); but the Caſſiterides including, in the opinion of moſt, the county of Cornwall, as well as the Scilly iſlands, is an everlaſting proof of this. The lead of Britain is particularly mentioned in Pliny (2). One of the Britiſh coins, but not known to be Cunobelin's, is of iron (3), a metal found here in Cæſar's time (4).

Cæſar tells us, the Britons wore their hair long, but ſhaved it in every part of the body, except the head and the upper lip, "Capilloque ſunt promiſſo; atque omni "parte corporis raſa, præter caput et labrum ſuperius:" And yet there are no ſigns of this flowing hair upon the coins, the reaſon of which, I apprehend, may be, that the Princes were exempt from this general rule. Another inſtance, parallel to this, may not be improperly mentioned in this place. The ſame author ſays, the inland Britons were *habited with ſkins*, *pellibusque ſunt veſtiti*; a repreſentation which, I think, ought to be reſtrained to the common ſort of people, the Princes and the Druids (5) being better clad, as is evident from the appearance Cunobelin makes on the coins. The vulgar indeed had a ſubſtantial reaſon for ſhewing as much of their bodies as they could; which was, that they died their ſkins with woad, either for the ſake of looking more terrible in bat-

(1) Naſcitur ibi plumbum album in Mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum. Cæſ. V. 12.
(2) Lib. XXXIV. c. 17.
(3) Thoreſby, p. 337.
(4) Cæſ. l. c.
(5) Pliny, N. H. XVI. c. 44. Sacerdos candida veſte cultus arborem ſcandit. See him again, XXIV. c. 11. and Montf. tom. II. p. 278. ſect. 3. Jones's anſwers to Mr. Tate's queſtions in Hearne's Cur. Diſc. p. 216.

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tle (1), or for ornament and beauty (2). Hence Herodian expreſly ſays, ὅθεν ἀ δ' ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τῷ σώματι τὰς γραφάς. *For this reaſon they go uncloath'd; namely, that they may not hide the figures made on their bodies* (3). Whence it appears, that the ſkins uſed by the common people, covered them not ſo much before as behind: And if it would not be thought a repetition, I would alſo note, that the caſe was ſimilar in reſpect of defenſive armour; that the common or private men only engaged unarmed (4), whilſt the Princes, or other officers, had their ſhields and helmets, as Cunobelin has on the coins. But to return from this digreſſion; the Britons wore no beards, and the coins accordingly are without them, which perhaps might be one reaſon why the heads of Janus and Hercules, as above, appear with none. 'Tis a particular worth remarking, becauſe, as it ſeems to me, it was the abſence of the beard that induced Walker, in certain caſes, to call the heads, women's heads. I make no doubt but the Britons in common wore their hair long; "The Gauls were called *Comati*, "from their long hair. The Britons had probably the "ſame cuſtom [it may be affirmed they had] for all un-"cultivated nations wore long hair, except the *Alani*, "(Lucian Iox). It was an inſtance of their wildneſs," ſays Mr. Borlaſe (5). The caſe was the ſame with the Belgæ of Gaul (6).

(1) Atque hoc horridiore ſunt in pugna adſpectu. Cæſ. V. 14.
(2) See Oudendorp ad Cæſ. l. c.
(3) Herodian III. c. 47.
(4) See above, p. 65.
(5) Borlaſe, p. 263.
(6) Strabo IV. p. 196. et Caſaub. ad loc.

As

As for the diadem, we make no difficulty in aſcribing the laureate one to the Roman or Romanized artiſt. The other kinds may ſeem neceſſary, where the hair was to be dreſſed, and not ſuffered to grow diſhevell'd. In ſome of the Karn-Brê coins, the diadem is plain and ſtrong, as on ſome of ours; but, nevertheleſs, there is one remarkable difference between our diadems, and thoſe on the Greek and Roman coins; "for, whereas, in the laſt "mentioned ('tis the obſervation of Mr. Borlaſe) the fillet "or ribband on which the diadem is grounded (or by "which 'tis bound together) makes a very elegant knot "behind the head, the Britiſh coins have no ſuch "thing, but have a ſtraight bandage, or rather claſp, "which croſſes the diadem at right angles; and was "doubtleſs deſigned (like the fillet of the antients) to "keep the diadem firm in its place, and cloſe to the "head (1)." This claſp, indeed, does not appear on our coins, but the former part of the obſervation accords therewith. Mr Selden moreover remarks, that the diadem which he produces ſeems to be of pearl.

Our Britons were remarkable for their dexterity in the uſe of the ſpear or javelin (2), and particularly from their horſes and chariots; and here we ſee the horſeman with his ſpear.

As for the Britiſh ſhields, they ſeem to have been lozenges, claſs V. no. 4. Mr. Camden does not deſcribe that which he ſaw; ſee him col. CXII. and the Gallic ſhields in Montfaucon II. p. 270. are hexagons; but Mr.

(1) Id. ibid.
(2) Cæſ. IV. 24. ſeq. Dio apud Xiphilinum.

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Hearne tells us, the thyreos of the Gauls was an oblong, and the cetrum a ſhort ſort of ſhield (1). M.

It may be proper to mention here, that the Druids were eminent for their ſkill in botany. Pliny relates ſome of their ſuperſtitious practices in relation to the *Viſcus*, or miſletoe of the oak, the *Selego*, and *Samolus*; and Dioſcorides tells us, that the Gauls, meaning, no doubt, the Gauliſh Druids, called the Herba Apollinaris, *Belinuntia*. Cæſar, and ſeveral other authors, mention the vitrum or woad, wherewith the Britons dyed their bodies; and poſſibly the flower on claſs V. no. 2, 3. may be intended to repreſent to us, either the flower of this plant, or of ſome one of the above; but I am not botaniſt enough to determine which. Walker however, my Lord, will inform you, that it is no uncommon thing to ſee the names or figures of plants upon antient coins. See the commentary on no. 2. claſs VI.

As for the Britiſh pearls, concerning which the antients, and even the more modern authors, have ſaid ſo much, the pearl diadem is mentioned above, and Mr. Borlaſe found them on the manes of the horſes (2); but they are not very conſpicuous on our coins in that place. I take them to have been the growth of the more Northern part of the iſland.

But I ſhould weary your Lordſhip, were I to proceed any further in this induction of particulars; and therefore, to wind up my bottom, I ſhall only add, that the true original orthography of the name of Cunobelin's pa-

(1) Hearne, in Lel. Itin. I. p. 124.
(2) See him paſſim.

lace,

lace, was Camulodunum, which ought to be particularly mentioned; becauſe Mr. Camden, tho' he was aware of the authority of the coins, and even produces them on the occaſion, yet ſeems to prefer Camalodunum, uſing this orthography as an argument for fixing Camulodunum at Malden (1). Authors, it ſeems, give it both ways; wherefore, as Camulodunum has its friends, as this corresponds ſo well with the etymology, and is ſupported alſo by the evidence of no leſs than three coins, we have reaſon to prefer it, as I think moſt do (2).

On the ſame footing, I ſhould imagine, the Celtic name of Apollo was Bilinus, or rather Belinus, and not Belenus, notwithſtanding the name is given in the laſt form in authors (3), not Bellinus, as ſometimes we ſee it written; this ariſing, as we think, from pronunciation, the E being ſhort (4). Some have thought the numerals of this name, might expreſs the number of days in the year, as Abraxas and Meithras do (5); but there is no foundation for this, if either Belinus or Bilinus be the orthography; and indeed it is no artificial word, but has an etymology (6).

So again, what later authors write *Venta*, as Venta Silurum, &c. was at this time written *Vanita*. The Trinobantes of Cæſar appear to have been alſo called Novantes; and if Cearatic be not the name of another of Cunobelin's foreign mint-maſters, as may be ſuſpected, it is the

(1) Camden, col. 416.
(2) Gibſon, in Camd. col. 417. Alford, p. 6.—Baxter, p. 64. blames Mr. Camden for preferring Camalodunum.
(3) Montfaucon II. p. 267.
(4) Montfaucon, ibid.
(5) Montfaucon, ibid.
(6) Selden, de Diis Syris.

name

name of one of his towns, ranking with Verulam and Camulodunum, as MCV is another.

But I ſhall trouble your Lordſhip no further, than to ſay I have the honour of being

Your Lordſhip's,

Whittington, March 30, 1765.

moſt obliged,

and moſt devoted Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P. S. Our antiquaries, I find, are very generally of opinion, my Lord, that the Engliſh words *Taſk* and *Tax*, come from this old Britiſh *Taſcia*, interpreted by them tribute money. Thus Mr. Baxter writes, "De Britannorum veterum *Taſcia* nata ſunt Anglorum vocabula *Taſk* et *Tax*." Baxter, Gloſſ. voc. TASCIA, and in Mr. Wiſe, p. 226. and thus Dr. Pettingal above, "The meer Engliſh word *Tax*, is perhaps a corruption of *Taſk*.—Taſk is derived from *Taſcia* of the antient Britons; and Taſcia was the vectigal or tribute paid by the *Tag*, or Britiſh Prince of each province, to the Roman conquerors (1)." But certainly there is no occaſion to go ſo far for the original of theſe words, ſince *Taſk* comes ſo eaſily from the French *Taſche*, it being agreeable to the idiom of the Engliſh tongue to harden the French *ch*: Thus we have *clock* from *cloche*, *pocket* from *pochette*, &c. As to the word *Tax*, Dr. Pettingal has clearly ſhewn

(1) See alſo Alford, p. 4.

it

it cannot come from the classical sense of *Taxatio*; but, nevertheless, it may take its origin from *Taxare*, of the base latinity; a word, which with the noun *Taxa*, occurs perpetually in our Monkish writers. It can hardly be conceived, my Lord, what a number of words have been adopted into our language, from the barbarisms of the Monks. But these are not of this place; and I only mention it to shew the probability of the etymon here proposed, and that *Taxa*, *Taxare*, and *Taxatio*, are not, as might otherwise be surmised, the English word *Tax* latinized.

The French *Tascher*, to endeavour, from whence I presume their *Tasche* may come, may be, for ought we know, of Celtic original; and if *Tascio* can be thought to bear any relation to it, it will then signify a trial or essay, a sense very consistent with what has been above advanced, viz. That these coins of Cunobelin were the first productions of the British mints; and, in my opinion, my Lord, a much more reasonable supposition and interpretation, and a more sensible one, than that *Tascio* should mean tribute-money. The reader is at liberty, if he pleases, to take this sense of the word; but, for my own particular, I must needs say, it is more agreeable to my notions of things, that *Tascio* should be the name of the mint-master, this being so conformable, as I think has been remarked, to the practice of the Franks and Saxons afterwards, and also accounting so well for the Greekish and Romanizing types so apparent on our coins.

I have learned, my Lord, ſince the penning of this Eſſay, that the late Dr. Stukeley has left a work behind him upon the ſame ſubject. The Doctor, I am ſenſible, has his admirers; but I muſt confeſs I am not one of the number, as not being fond of wildneſs and enthuſiaſm upon any ſubject. The preſent attempt, however, needs not to preclude the Doctor's piece, no more than his, which is probably on a different plan (for I don't often think alike with Dr. Stukely) ought to ſuperſede it. On the contrary, I ſhall read what he has been pleaſed to offer on this ſubject with avidity, and, as I hope, with candour.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

Page 34. *l. ult. after* mentioned, *add:* in the ſeveral various readings.

Page 54. *l. antepenult. after the words* from our Iſland. *add:* Nay we have Q. DOCI on a ſilver Celtic coin in Lord Pembroke, Part II. Tab. 93. where the prænomen plainly indicates a Roman maſter; wherefore methinks when the Celtic coins in that table preſent us with DONNVS, LIMA, &c. theſe probably may be the names of maſters alſo, not ſtrictly Roman, but provincial; juſt as I ſuppoſe the caſe to have been with Taſcio. On two of theſe coins ſtruck at Tournay, and exhibiting the head of that town, after the Roman manner, the maſter's name occurs in the ſame form with ours, viz. AVSCRO.

Page 63. *l.* 7. Caratacus. *add* ſee above, p. 57.

Page 66. *l. ult. add:* My learned friend, Mr. John Watſon of Ripponden, near Haliſax, in Yorkſhire, has a gold coin, of much the ſame type with this, and was ſo obliging as to ſend me a drawing of it; but as the variations (which conſiſt in ◎ being under the horſe's belly over CVN, and not before the horſe's head as in Camden) are not material, it was not worth while to engrave it.

Page 67. *l.* 16. ſomething. *add:* It ſeems to be a garland or Civic crown.

Page 78. *l. antepen.* The coins delineated and deſcribed, are now above forty; for the obſervation there

made, that the number of the coins of Cunobelin would probably in proceſs of time be much greater, when new coins were diſcovered, and thoſe now latent in the cabinets of the curious were more generally brought to light, has been in part very happily verified by the humanity and friendſhip of Mr. John White, the ſame gentleman to whom I formerly addreſſed the *third* letter in the *Series of Diſſertations on our Anglo-Saxon Remains*. Mr. White no ſooner heard of the preſent deſign, but, from the benevolence of his diſpoſition, and a moſt laudable communicableneſs, he inſtantly wrote to apprize me of ſuch coins of Cunobelin as were in his collection (a collection as extenſive as elegant, and altogether moſt princely and magnificent); and in the moſt obliging and generous manner to offer me drawings of thoſe that, hitherto being unengraved or undeſcribed, might prove accommodate to my purpoſe.

Theſe coins of Mr. White, in number four, have therefore been ſince added to the plates, where, as it fortuned, they fell into their reſpective places without offending the eye; and your Lordſhip will find them marked with the letters a. b. c. d. But as the ſheets of the Eſſay had paſſed the preſs before they came to hand, particularly thoſe that contain the commentary or deſcription of the coins, p. 64. ſeq. it will be neceſſary I ſhould go over them in this place, but with the ſame brevity as was uſed in reſpect of the others.

Claſs I. a. is a gold coin with a blank reverſe. The obverſe has a good horſe upon the gallop; over him a hand dexter holding a truncheon with a pearl, or pellet, at a ſmall diſtance from each end of it; and underneath him

him a wrigling ſerpent. The inſcription CVNO. Some perhaps may query, upon a view of the type of this coin, whether the horſe was not once mounted, and the hand did not belong to a rider, imagining the piece may be worn in that part. All I can ſay, is, that though the hand and truncheon is entirely very ſingular, yet there is no appearance of any other other part of a horſeman, or larger figure, in the draught, and that I take the horſe, therefore, to be emblematical in this caſe, as obſerved, p. 92. ſeq. and to repreſent Apollo, or the ſun. The ſerpent is a frequent attribute of Apollo, as the God of medicine, under which character he was known to the Britons, ſee above, p. 44. But whether he was ſo or not, Taſcio was well aware of his medical power, and might, therefore, adorn him very properly with his enſign. Britain at this time was not without its ſerpents, as may be inferred from the adder-beads, or ſnake ſtones, of the Druids (1), and what ſome old authors remark concerning certain parts of it, as particularly the Iſle of Thanet, being deſtitute of them, as an extraordinary and excluſive privilege (2). The truncheon, however, as an emblem of command, may probably be thought to come from Rome, and, therefore, to be a pure device of Taſcio's; it affords us conſequently a further example of the Roman manners and implements introduced here by him. As for the pearls, or pellets, in the area of this coin, ſee above, p. 102.

(1) Camden's Brit. col. 815. ſeq.
(2) Solinus, Beda, &c.

Claſs

Claſs II. b. The obverſe of this gold coin, with CVNOB, ſeems plainly to me to give us the buſt of Jupiter Ammon, for the horn is very evident, as alſo is the venerable beard of that deity. Theſe are particulars that abſolutely reſtrain us from complimenting Cunobelin with this well-wrought head, ſince the horn is characteriſtic, and the Britons always went ſhaved, ſee above, p. 99. Indeed it was there advanced, that the Britiſh princes might be exempt from general rules in point of dreſs; but we have good reaſon for believing they were not particular as to the beard, ſince Cunobelin is univerſally beardleſs upon the coins. Now if Taſcio, my Lord, was a provincial of Gaul, as conjectured above (1), he could be no ſtranger to the deities of Ægypt and Africa, whatever the Britons might be, for they abounded in Gaul. He, therefore, was probably the firſt perſon that imported the knowledge of this Libyan divinity into Britain. And whereas the reverſe of this elegant coin has a lion couchant (for ſuch I eſteem it to be) an animal unknown in this iſland, the ſame hand may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to depict it as a native of Libya, and connected with Jupiter Ammon, though an artiſt of Britain could not poſſibly have any idea of it. CAM, the letters on this reverſe, we interpret Camulodunum; and this ſeems but reaſonable, though the name of the place is generally given more at large, CAMV, or CAMVL.

Claſs IV. c. This braſs coin, which is in the fineſt and moſt perfect preſervation, has the king mounted; the

(1) Page 54.

horſe

horſe upon the gallop, and bridled (1). 'Tis difficult to ſay what the prince holds in his right hand, whether a whip, or ſomething wherewith to annoy the enemy; but as he is unarmed I ſhould imagine the former, ſee Claſs V. N° 2. and p. 38. The inſcription is CVNO. The reverſe has the prince again on foot, with a helmet, ſpear, and ſhield. I eſteem it to be the figure of the prince, and not a ſoldier, becauſe of the helmet, &c. for the common people of Britain did not, as I apprehend, at this time make uſe of defenſive armour (2). The inſcription on the reverſe TASC NO is probably the ſame as *Taſc nova*, and *Taſc novane*, that is, *Taſc novanetum*, concerning which, ſee before, p. 72. ſeq.

Claſs V. d. This ſilver coin preſents us, on the obverſe, with another creature of the imagination, to wit, a griffin running, of which the Britons probably had no notion at this time, but muſt be indebted for it to our foreign artiſt. This creature, as I remember, was ſacred to the god Mars (3), or Camulus, the favourite and patron of Cunobelin, and conſequently appears with the utmoſt propriety upon his money. The reverſe has a Pegaſus, for which ſee p. 46; and the inſcription here, there being none on the obverſe, is TAS for Taſcio. The coin is extremely perfect, as indeed all in Mr. White's collection in general are.

(1) See page 92.
(2) See page 65. 100.
(3) Gentleman's Magazine.

Page 89. *l.* 7. *after* others. *add:* It is very opportunely remarked by Mr. Morant, in the Antiquities of Colcheſter, p. 11. ſeq. that even the country about Camulodunum, the place of Cunobelin's more immediate reſidence, and where many of the coins were ſtruck, was in his time very generally covered with wood.

Page 102. *l.* 2. a ſhort ſort of ſhield. *add:* The truth ſeems to be, that the Britiſh ſhields were of various forms, ſince that of Claſs VI. N° 2. is an oval.

ERRATA.

Page 10. line 19. *after* all *add* the
Ib. Note *for* word *r.* world
11. 19. does not *r.* dares not
13. 16. and 20. Note (1) belongs to (2) and *vice verſâ.*
22. 13. prince, chief, *r.* prince or chief,
23. 4. deviation *r.* derivation
28. 19. ; *ſhould be only a comma.*
33. 4. Tarvoniences, *r.* Canonienſes,
44. Note (1) 20. *r.* 11.
Note (3) *dele* Hearne in
45. 5. The Grecian Hercules, *a new paragraph.*
54. 26. it is, *r.* as it is,
58. 23. Caradtacus, *r.* Caractacus,
63. *penult.* and ſeveral particulars more fully examined, *r.* and fully examined ſeveral other particulars,
67. 22. CVNO, *r.* CVN,
71. *penult.* CVNOBELIN, *r.* CVNOBILIN,
81. 28. Cattuvellaiuni, *r.* the Cattuvellaiuni,
82. 1. ſettled ; *ſentence ſhould be only a comma,*
98. Note (2) Idem *r.* E. Lhuyd,
102. 6. Selego, *r.* Selgo,
103. 14. not *r.* nor

A DIS-

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE CORITANI.

Of the Etymology and Orthography of that Name, and the Extent and true Situation of this People;

Of the Caledonian Wood in the Midland Parts of Britain;

Paſſages of L. Florus and Pliny concerning it, and the Etymology of that Word;

Likewiſe of the Caledonian Bears;

Of the Limits in reſpect of the Brigantes and Carnabii; and herein of the Name and Extraction of the Iceni, of whom the Coritani were a Part;

And ſhewing, againſt Dr. Plot, that they were not ſeated in Worceſterſhire and Staffordſhire.

[Read to the Society of Antiquaries, April 5 and 12, 1764.]

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TO

MATTHEW DUANE, Eſquire.

SIR,

AS ſome notice has been taken in the foregoing eſſay, page 89. of the immenſe wilds and foreſts of Britain, and the three vaſt Caledonian woods were there particularly mentioned, with a reference to a diſſertation of mine on the ſeat of the Coritani, which was partly made public by its having been read at the Society of Antiquaries, but nevertheleſs is not generally known, it was thought proper to annex that diſſertation for the reader's further amuſement. And as you, Sir, was pleaſed to expreſs your approbation of it at the time it was read, I beg leave to preſent you with it in this public manner, as a teſtimony of that regard wherewith I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

and obliged Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

December 26, 1765.

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WHEN the Romans arrived in Britain they found a people ſettled in the inland parts, whom they diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Coritani* (1); a word formed, no doubt, from the Britiſh appellation of this people, whatever that was. This name appears in Ptolemy, who ſtiles them Κορίταυοι, *i. e.* Coritani, as the Latin verſion of that author, and Mr. Camden in his Britannia, give it very juſtly; for whereas Ptolemy mentions the cities Λίνδον and Ῥάγε, Lincoln and Leiceſter, as ſeated in this clan, theſe two places occur in the region of the *Coitanni* in Richard of Cirenceſter (2), as Lindum alſo again does in his map. And yet Mr. Baxter would attempt to read the word in Ptolemy otherwiſe: "CORIGAUNI, five malles *Coriceni*, Ptolemæo vitioſe "ſcribuntur Κορίτάυοι pro Κοριγαύνοι, de quo ex Latino "interprete Camdenus fecit *Coritani*." But it appears evidently enough, that both the interpreter and Camden have called this people very properly from Ptolemy, Coritani, as ſuppoſing the *Ypſilon* to be miſwritten for *Nu*.

As to the etymology of this term, Mr. Camden offers his conjecture with the utmoſt diffidence: "I "ſhall forbear, ſays he, to meddle with the etymology

(1) The true orthography of this name will be attempted below.
(2) Richard of Cirenceſter, p. 26.

"of

" of the name, leſt I ſhould pretend to know what, " in truth, is to me a myſtery. For, notwithſtanding " they are a people ſcattered *far and wide*, which the " Britons expreſs by *Gur-tani*, yet, ſhould I aſſert that " theſe Coritani took their name from thence, would " you not think this meer trifling? They who are bet- " ter ſkilled in that way, may give their conjectures " with greater ſafety (1)." Mr. Baxter has accordingly pronounced more magiſterially: " Hi minores erant " *Iceni* ſive *Igauni* ſive etiam *Uigantes*: nam ejuſmodi " Compoſita in hunc diem Britannis ſunt familiaria, " uti cernere eſt in *Cornant*, *Corgi*, *Corbedii*, atque " his ſimilibus (2)." So that to get his word *Corigauni*, he is forced, beſides the attack upon Ptolemy, as above, to corrupt the word *Iceni* into *Igauni* or *Uigantes*, which methinks is rather too bold and arbitrary. But what will become of the former part of the compoſition ſhould Richard of Cirenceſter's reading, *Coitanni*, prove to be the true one? This ſhall be conſidered bye and bye. Mr. Baxter proceeds, " In Ravennati Libro di- " cuntur *Corii*; in Græco certe exemplari Ῥάτα Κορίων " fuerat; unde et Latina verſio ſuum *Ratæ Corion* " traxit." He ſuppoſes, and yet I know not upon what grounds, the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, to

(1) Camden's Britannia, col. 511.

(2) Baxter's Gloſſ. v. CORIGAUNI. Afterwards he ſays, " Neque præter- " eundum hoc loco cenſeo *Icenes* in Taciti libris mendoſe dici *Iugantes*, ex- " ſcriptorum vitio pro *Uigantes*: ut ſint *Corigani* Britannis antiquis *Coriigen*, " ſive *Coriigantes*, hodiernâ prolatione *Coriuychon*, ſive *Coriuychont*; nam " et pluralia in *on* antiquitus etiam definebant in *ont*, quod vel Latinizata " nomina oſtendunt."

have

have tranſlated his work from a Greek original; but be that as it will, who ſees not, that the *Ratecorion* of that author (1), is an abbreviation of *Ratæ Coritanorum*, written thus *Corion*, as Dr. Gale has remarked? If this be the caſe, as moſt people will think it is, ſince both Ptolemy and Richard place *Ragæ* amongſt the *Coritani* or *Coitanni*, the Coritani are not called *Corii* by this geographer, nor indeed by any other author, though Mr. Baxter affects afterwards to call them by that name (2).

The authority of the geographer of Ravenna added to that of Ptolemy above, ſince both of them inſert *R* in the former part of this word, may ſeem to make it clear, that the true name of this people amongſt the Romans was *Coritani* (3): and yet I have ſome doubt of this, and I ſhall the more readily propoſe my ſcruple, becauſe it will lead to to what I have to offer concerning its etymon. Richard of Cirenceſter perpetually calls this people *Coitanni*, and that both in his work and in his map. But as this perſon is at preſent but little known, and I propoſe hereafter to make conſiderable uſe of him, it will be neceſſary I ſhould here ſpeak ſomething further concerning him and his authority.

Richard was a monk of Weſtminſter, though born at Cirenceſter, and flouriſhed, as has been ſhewn by Dr. Stukely, who gave us the firſt printed account of him (4),

(1) Anon. Ravennas, p. 145. Edit. Gale.
(2) See below in that page.
(3) Our Antiquaries in general all write it ſo.
(4) Printed at London, 1757. Quarto.

at

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at the close of the fourteenth century, for he died, as is supposed, A. D. 1400 or 1401. His *Commentariolum Geographicum de situ Britaniæ et stationum quas Romani ipsi in ea insula ædificaverunt*, was published entire by Mr. Charles Bertram, at Copenhagen, A. D. 1757, octavo, from a manuscirpt that came accidentally into his hands. You observe that Richard writes professedly upon the geography of this island; and though he is but a late writer, in respect of the times we are here speaking of, yet, as he has informed us, he compiled his book from certain antient memorials, his authority consequently in that view ought to be deemed very considerable; indeed, the number of places recorded by him, and unknown to all our other authors, are a full proof that he wrote from membranes which they had not seen: but take his own words, "Ex fragmentis quibusdam a *duce quodam* "*Romano* consignatis et posteritati relictis sequens col- "lectum est Itinerarium, ex Ptolemæo et aliunde non- "nullis: ordinem quoque, sed, quod spero, in melius "mutatum hinc inde deprehendes (1)."

Richard, it seems, for I now return to the subject, wrote his Commentary with Ptolemy before him, and yet he chuses to call this people constantly and invariably, as was observed, by the name of *Coitanni*, a word very naturally deducible from the British *Coit*, a wood. This clan being in all probability so denominated from that immense forest called *Sylva Caledonia* so visible in Richard's map, and of which he writes thus, p. 26. "Ex altera parte ad "Ausonam incolebant, Carnabiis Brigantibus et oceano

(1) Ric. Corinensis, p. 35.

"vicini,

" vicini, Coitanni, *in tractu ſylvis obſito*, qui, ut aliæ " Britonum Sylvæ, Caledonia fuit appellata." It adds great confirmation to the conjecture, that the city of Lincoln, mentioned above as lying in this tract, was called by the Britons *Caer-Lind-Coit* (1).

The point next to be conſidered, is, what extent of country, the Coitanni might antiently occupy; " Ho- " die," ſays Mr. Baxter, " Coriorum Pagus Leirceſtriæ " dicitur conventus." But what? they extended farther than this? Yes, for he writes afterwards, that the ſhepherds of this clan were poſſeſſed of the preſent county of Derby; " Ad horum [Coriorum] *Ceangos* ſive " paſtores, ſpectâſſe videntur et lati Antoniani Campi (2) " et Derventionenſis etiam conventus, qua de re " plura in voce CEANGI." Mr. Camden's account is more accurate. The Coritani, he tells us, joined to the Iceni, but were more within land, " taking up a " very large tract of ground in the middling part of the " iſle, and as far as the German ocean; viz. the counties " commonly called Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, " Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and " Derbyſhire." Leiceſterſhire was therefore only a part of the Coritani, as Derbyſhire was another part. The limits of the ſeveral counties abovementioned did very exactly coincide with the boundaries of the Coritani, except that they ſeem to have inhabited a ſmall portion of the ſouthern part or weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, as will be noted below, and not to have occupied the whole

(1) Camden, col. 562.
(2) Called ſo from the river Antona or Aufona in Northamptonſhire.

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of Northamptonſhire, but only to have inhabited northward from the river Auſona or Avon. In ſhort, the moſt perfect account of the ſite of this people muſt be fetched from Richard of Cirenceſter, who writes, that the Coitanni were not ſo properly joined to the Iceni, as a *part* of that powerful people, who conſiſted of two clans, the Cenomanni (1), or Cenimagni as Cæſar calls them, and the Coitanni. " Limes huic populo [*i. e.* " Trinobantibus] ad Septentrionem flumen Surius, " ultra quem habitabant Iceni celeberrima natio, in " *duas partes* diviſa." The river Stour parts the county of Eſſex from Suffolk (2), which ſhews we ought in this place to read *Sturius* for *Surius* (3), and ſo the author writes the name of this river, p. 37. The author goes on to ſpeak of the two clans the Iceni conſiſted of, " quarum prior, Cenomanni, habitans ad Septentrionem " Trinobantes et Caſſios [lege, Trinobantum et Caſſi- " orum] ad orientem Oceanum ſpectabat —— flumi- " num notiſſima ſunt Garion, Surius (4) et Auſona in " ſinum Metorin ſeſe exonerans." Now follows the deſcription of the Coitanni. " Ex altera parte ad " Auſonam incolebant, Carnabiis et Oceano vicini, " Coitanni, in tractu ſylvis obſito, qui, ut aliæ Brit- " tonum ſylvæ, Caledonia fuit appellata. De hac " autem III. mentionem facit Hiſtoricus ille Florus. " Civitas primaria Coitannorum erat Ragæ, et præter

(1) So Richard always writes.
(2) See Mr. Hearne, ad Spelm. Life of K. Ælfred, p. 74.
(3) As alſo again in the paſſage cited below.
(4) See Note 3.

" hanc

" hanc Romanorum colonia Lindum, in extrema ad " orientem Provinciæ ora. Totam vero regionem bi- " fariam fecat fluvius Trivona."

The Coitanni, therefore, bordered on the Brigantes, who lived in the country now called Yorkſhire, northward; the German ocean eaſtward; the Cenomanni on the ſouth, from whom they were parted by the river Aufona; and the Carnabii, who lived in Staffordſhire and Cheſhire, on the weſt. The ſame is alſo verified by the old map added by this author, and the courſe of the river Trent, here called Trivona, which does in a manner, eſpecially in this author's conception, as explained by his map (1), run through the middle of the Coitanni.

The author here mentions the *Caledonian* wood or foreſt, which he repreſents as a common appellative amongſt the Britons for a wood, and as particularly taken notice of by the Roman hiſtorian Luc. Florus in his third book.

In regard to Florus, he ſpeaks of the *Saltus Caledonius* (2) in his firſt book, along with the *Saltus Hercynius*, in a proverbial way, as a foreſt of vaſt extent, and as yet unpaſſed. Mr. Camden, indeed, places the *Saltus Caledonius* of Florus in Scotland (3), but it was more probably either the wood Anderida, which was called

(1) Richard's Courſe of the Trent is very particular; ſee the Map, and Dr. Stukeley's Account, p. 25.

(2) Or, *Caledonius*; for ſee Duker ad loc. Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Pliny.

(3) Britannia, col. 1227.

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alſo Caledonia (1), or this immenſe woody tract of the *Coitanni*; however, this laſt I am firmly perſuaded was the Sylva Caledonia intended by Pliny, when he writes that the Romans had penetrated no farther into this country in his time (2). Florus, in his third book, ſpeaks of Julius Cæſar's following the Britons *in Calidonias Sylvas*, and taking one of their kings priſoner. Now Julius never proceeded far into Britain, as the annotators there remark (3), from whence it appears that this Sylva of the *Coitanni* was not intended in that place, though our author Richard pretends it was, but rather the wood Anderida before-mentioned; for I am more willing to believe that Florus ſpeaks of a real wood, than to imagine with Rupertus, that the author here ſpeaks by a poetical figure (4). Now as to Richard's remark that Calidonia was a common name amongſt the Britons for a wood, we find one of this name amongſt the *Coitanni*, another in the country of the Cantii and Regni, otherwiſe called Anderida, and a third in Scotland (5). It ſeems, indeed, to have been a general word amongſt the Celtæ, witneſs, Calydna, Calydon, &c. for which ſee the geographers. In regard to Britain, the word grew ſo common among the Roman authors, as Mr. Camden obſerves, that they made uſe of it to expreſs all Britain, *and all the foreſts of Britain* (6).

(1) Richard of Cirenc. p. 18.
(2) Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem Silvæ Caledoniæ propagantibus. Plin. N. H. IV. c. 16.
(3) See alſo Camden, col. 1227. and col. lii.
(4) See Dukeri Annot. ad loc.
(5) Camden, col. 1227. 1247.
(6) Ibid.

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There are two etymologies given of this word, the firſt by Mr. Camden, where he is ſpeaking of the Caledonii in Scotland, who, he thinks, " were ſo called of " *Kaled*, a Britiſh word ſignifying *hard*, which in the " plural number is *Kaledion*; whence *Caledonii*, that is, " a people *hardy*, *rough*, *uncivilized*, *wild and ruſtick*, " ſuch as the northern people generally are; of a fierce " temper, from the extreme coldneſs of their climate; " and bold and forward, from their abundance of " blood. And beſides their climate, the nature of the " country contributes to it, riſing up every where in " *rough* and *rugged* mountains; and mountaineers are " known by all to be a *hardy* and *robuſt* people." But this etymon ſeems rather foreign to the purpoſe, there being nothing in it peculiar to woods and foreſts, though I find it much approved by Lloyd in his dictionary (1). I would, therefore, rather embrace the following derivation of Mr. Baxter, as more agreeable to the obſervation of Richard of Cirenceſter: " Dicti ſunt *Caledones*, ſays Baxter, " de *Sylvis* quas incolebant, Britannis " noſtris *Kelydhon* ſive *Colydhon*, atque ipſæ eorum " *ſylvæ*, *Coit Kelydhon*: neque ſane aliunde peregrini " Brigantes audiebant Κέλται, niſi quòd in *Sylvis* age- " rent (ut fere antiqui) ſicuti neque *Caletes* Atrebatum " *Sylvis* vicinus populus. Scotobrigantibus etiam hodie " *Coil* pro *Sylva* eſt; Græcis etiam Κᾶλον *Lignum* eſt,

(1) Dict. Hiſt. Geogr. in voce.

" ut

"ut et Romanis antiquis *Cala*, unde et *Caliga* et *Calones* deducta sunt (1)."

The enormous extent of this wood has been already often noticed; it seems by Richard's map to have covered the whole country of the *Coitanni*, and consequently to have included the whole of the present county of Derby, which greatly supports Mr. Baxter's etymon; and when Dr. Stukely explains it of Rockingham forest in Northamptonshire, it is not greatly amiss, that being a part, though but a small part, of it. From hence very probably came those British bears of which we read so much in authors (2), and called expressly by Martial *Ursi Caledonii* (3). The author of the panegyric to Constantine pretends the woods of *Britain have no savage beasts* (4); but this must be a meer flower of rhetoric, since the evidence is so strong against him. Some indeed have fancied that the word *ursus* signified any furious wild beast (5); but this has been shewn to be a mistake by the excellent Salmasius (6), and in truth, when one reflects on the other species of animals that have been either lost or destroyed in this island, concerning which

(1) Baxter's Gloss. v. CALEDONIA; and as to the Irish word *Coil*, see Ed. Lhuyd's Compar. Vocab. p. 143. 160.

(2) Plutarch. Nennius c. 62. Geoffr. Monm. p. 319. Camden, col. 462. 771. 1020. 1227. Ray on the Deluge, p. 174. compared with p. 208. whence it appears that *Bevers* there should be *Bears*. The British name Arthur, comes from *Arth*, ursus; *Arth urryu* being a He Bear: see Lhuyd's Comp. Vocab. v. *Ursus*.

(3) Martial de Spectac. Epigr. VII.
"Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso."

(4) Camden, col. iv.

(5) Just. Lipsius Elect. Lib. II. c. 4.

(6) Salmasii Plin. Exerc. p. 221.

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ſee Mr. Lhuyd in Camden, col. 771. one has no reaſon to diſbelieve the exiſtence of theſe animals here formerly. The queſtion then is, whether the Caledonian bears came from the *Coitannian* wood, or the Caledonian wood in Scotland. Mr. Camden (1) and Dr. Stukeley (2) fetch the Caledonian bear mentioned by Martial from Caledonia in Scotland, and the latter of theſe authors in particular brings his epigram in proof of the Romans having conquered Scotland by the conduct of their great general Julius Agricola; but the argument is far from being concluſive, ſince the bear there mentioned might with equal probability be bred amongſt the *Coitanni*, and be ſtiled Caledonian from the Sylva Caledonia in that part of Britain. But of this let gentlemen judge.

The iſland of Britain being in theſe antient times inhabited by various ſtates independent one of another (3), theſe ſtates would frequently unite in oppoſing a common enemy, but not always with that unanimity as was neceſſary (4), and their diviſions, as has been frequently obſerved, in the event proved their ruin (5); the Iceni, of whom the *Coitanni* were a part, were one of theſe ſtates. And the limits of theſe laſt, the *Coitanni*, may deſervedly become the object, in this diſſertation, of particular conſideration. Now as to the German ocean, nothing needs be ſaid in reſpect of that, and the border towards the Cenomanni has been noted before, wherefore the boundaries of this ſtate in regard of the

(1) Col. 1227. 1247.
(2) Account of Richard of Cirenceſter, p. 19.
(3) Camden, col. xix.
(4) Tacitus.
(5) Camden, col. liv. from Tacitus.

Brigantes

Brigantes and Carnabii, where what is now called the county of Derby lies, requires only to be inveſtigated.

But before I touch upon the boundaries in reſpect of the Brigantes and Carnabii, I would beg leave to add a word more concerning the Iceni. The Cenomanni and the Iceni, it ſeems, were the ſame people; that is, Iceni was the generical name, and the two clans of which this people conſiſted, were called Cenomanni and Coitanni; the former lying ſouth of the river Avon, and the latter north of it. Wherefore as we find a people of the ſame name, Cenomanni, in Gaul (1), to wit, Le pays du Maine (2), one has all the reaſon in the world to imagine our Iceni were of Gauliſh extraction. However, this diſcovery of the identity of the two people very happily puts an end to the doubts of Mr. Camden; "I have long been "of opinion, ſays he, that by a mangling of the "name *Iceni*, the very ſame people were called in "*Cæſar Cenimagni*. To which I was induced, as "by the affinity of the names *Iceni* and *Cenimagni*, "ſo by comparing *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* together. For "the latter tells us, that the *Cenimagni* ſurrendered "themſelves to the Romans: now that the *Iceni* did ſo, "*Tacitus* informs us in theſe words, *on their own accord*, "*they came over to our ſide* (3). There appears not to me any mangling of the name *Iceni*, but the contrary; for from Cenimagni, expreſſed I preſume *y cenimagni*,

(1) Cæſar de B. G. vii. § 69.
(2) So Dr. Clarke in his Cæſar, and Cellarius, i. p. 131.
(3) Camden, col. 433.

the

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the ſhorter name of *Iceni* ſeems to have ſprung; which entirely overthrows Sir Henry Spelman's etymology of the *Iceni* from the river *Iſe*, as likewiſe that of Mr. Camden from the *wedgy* figure of the country (1). Mr. Camden goes on: "But what is of greateſt moment in "this matter, is, that a manuſcript divides the word "*Cenimagni*, and reads it, *Ceni*, *Agni*; for which I "would willingly put *Iceni*, *Regni*, if it might be done "without the imputation of too great liberty. Thus "much is certain, that you will never find the *Ceni-* "*magni* in any other part of Britain, if you make them "a diſtinct people from the *Regni* and *Icēni*." This is very juſt, for the *Cenimagni* were not diſtinct from the *Iceni*, but actually a part of them; but then they had nothing to do with the *Regni*, or the people of Surrey and Suſſex, and the reading *Ceni*, *Agni* was rather a corruption of *Cenimagni*, than of *Iceni*, *Regni*.

I proceed now upon the boundaries of the *Coitanni* in reſpect of the *Brigantes* and *Carnabii*. The obſervation of biſhop Gibſon is, that the bounds of the antient nations inhabiting Britain cannot be nicely determined. "For, ſays he, how can we hope *exactly* to diſtinguiſh "them, when our antient authors only deliver at large "in what *quarter* of the nation they were ſeated, "without deſcending to their particular limits? Be- "ſides, moſt of the barbarous nations ſeem (according "to their ſtrength at different times) to have had domi- "nions larger and narrower: eſpecially in Britain "(where were ſo many kings) we cannot imagine, but

(1) Camden, col. 433.

"that they were frequently making encroachments one "upon another (1)". This ſeems to be ſo very reaſonable, that one cannot but aſſent to it, and therefore, whilſt I am under the influence of this perſuaſion, I cannot pretend to determine abſolutely the boundaries of the *Coitanni*, but only to mention ſuch as appear to be rational and plauſible. Now the ſureſt way ſeems to be to look out for certain natural objects for the limits of the countries in queſtion, ſuch as mountains and rivers; and, on inſpecting Richard's antient map, the æſtuary of *Abus*, or the Humber, firſt offers itſelf. Speaking of the *Abus*, or the ſtation there, in his book, Richard ſays, "unde tranſis in Maximam ad Petuari-"am (2)", meaning by *Maxima* the province ſo called by the Romans, where the *Brigantes* were ſeated; and accordingly he makes the diſtance ſix miles from the ſtation called *Abus*, and the ſtation on the oppoſite ſhore called *Petuaria*. From thence I judge the *Danus*, or the river Donne, became the boundary weſtward; for the ſtation eighteen miles ſouth of *Legeolium*, or Caſterford, Richard expreſly ſays was *Ad Fines* (3), by which muſt be meant the Fines *Brigantes inter et Coritanos*, as is not improperly added by Dr. Stukeley, though thoſe words are not in the author. The boundary after this, and more weſterly, ſeems to have been that mountainous country which ſtretches between the Donne and the *Seteia*, or the river Merſey, and after-

(1) Biſhop Gibſon in Camden, col. 433.
(2) Richard of Cirenceſter, p. 40.
(3) Ibid.

wards

wards the Merſey itſelf. This chain of rivers and mountains, which I preſume continued afterwards to be the mareh or limits between the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland, ſeems to have been a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the mutual encroachments of the *Brigantes* and *Coitanni*; and that this was really the limits of the kingdom of Mercia, in the after times, might be eaſily ſhewn.

As to the *Carnabii*; the rivers Dove and Goit, which now part Derbyſhire from Staffordſhire, ſeem to have been the natural boundary of the *Coitanni* this way. Dr. Plot indeed has endeavoured to ſhew, that a people of the name of *Iceni* was ſettled in Worceſterſhire and Staffordſhire; but this opinion I ſtrenuouſly oppoſe, and ſhall reply to his arguments in order. Firſt, he ſays, Tacitus mentions a Britiſh people hereabouts that were called *Iceni*, who took diſtaſte at the Proprætor Oſtorius Scapula's blocking up their countrymen between the rivers *Antona* and *Sabrina* (1), and, therefore, he ſuſpects they belonged in part to this place, for that the *Simeni* of Norfolk, &c. whom Mr. Camden would have to be the only *Iceni*, ſeem to be too remote to be concerned at ſuch an action. This argument he further inforces by obſerving, that the river Nen cannot well be the *Antona* of Tacitus, as both Sir Henry Savil (2), and Mr. Camden (3), would have it; he

(1) Tacitus, Annal. XII. c. 31.

(2) Sir Henry Savil's Tranſlation of the Twelfth Book of Tacitus's Annals § 8.

(3) In Northamptonſhire.

thinks this name may be a corruption, through frequent tranſcribing, for one of the *Avona's*, betwixt which and the Severn they might eaſily be cooped up, but not ſo betwixt it and the River Nen, which is ſo far from joining it, that it holds a quite contrary courſe (1). Now, in anſwer to this, I would note, that both Ptolemy and Richard place the *Carnabii* in Staffordſhire; the latter expreſly mentions *Etocetum*, or Wall by Litchfield, as inhabited by the *Carnabii* (2); and, in his map, he as evidently places the *Carnabii* in Cheſhire.

The *Iceni*, who took diſtaſte at the proceeding of Oſtorius, were not the *Cenimanni*, or the *Iceni* of Norfolk, &c. who, as the doctor obſerves, lived at too great a diſtance to take umbrage at ſuch a ſtep, but the *Coitanni*, or the *Iceni* of theſe more northern parts. The *Antona* of Tacitus is doubtleſs a corruption of *Aufona*, for ſo Richard writes the name of the river that runs by Northampton both in his map and elſewhere; and there is no difficulty in conceiving how Oſtorius, ſuppoſing him to be north of Northampton, ſhould hinder the *Iceni* of Norfolk, &c. from joining the *Coitanni*, and excluding them from ſuch junction by means of the *Aufona* and Severn.

The Doctor's ſecond argument is, that it is probable theſe *Iceni* were neighbours to the *Congi* or *Cangi*, againſt whom the Roman army was preſently led after the defeat of the *Iceni*, whoſe territories reached, as Tacitus himſelf alſo confeſſes, almoſt to the Iriſh

(1) Dr. Plot's Nat. Hiſt. of Staff. p. 392.
(2) Page 94.

ſea;

ſea (1); wherein in a manner he comes up to Ptolemy, who places the Καγκανῶν ἄκρον, or *Promontorium Ganganorum*, at Ormeſhead-Point, or Lheyn Gogarth, in Caernaryonſhire: the *Cangi* in all likelihood alſo held all Denbighſhire, and a piece of Cheſhire, where the old *Condate*, now Congleton, and Conghull, ſeem to preſerve the memory of them. I anſwer, the *Iceni*, meaning by them the *Coitanni*, one part of whom inhabited the county of Derby, were certainly near enough to the *Cangi*, for Oſtorius to lead his army, after the defeat of the *Iceni*, againſt them.

But the capital argument, thirdly, runs thus: The Roman conſular way, which remains to this hour, paſſes through both Worceſterſhire and Staffordſhire, by the name of Ikenild-ſtreet, which how it ſhould come by, but from the people, whoſe territories it was made through, he cannot imagine. But, with ſubmiſſion to this very learned man, there is no neceſſity for a road to take its name from the country it paſſes through; the caſe is not ſo with the Watling ſtreet, the Foſſe, and the Ermin-ſtreet; and as to the Ikenild-ſtreet in particular, ſuppoſing it to derive its name, as he ſuggeſts, from the region it traverſed, there is yet no occaſion to imagine it to be borrowed from any *Iceni* in Worceſterſhire or Staffordſhire, ſince it might juſt as well take it from the *Iceni*, or *Coitanni*, in Derbyſhire. It may be of weight perhaps, to obſerve, that this road comes through Staffordſhire, and then enters the *Iceni*, or *Coitanni*, with whom it terminates, for I cannot learn

(1) Tacitus, Annal. XII. c. 32.

that

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that it carries its name any further. Wherefore ſhould any one diſlike the notion laſt mentioned, of its being denominated from the people it paſſed through, they may poſſibly acquieſce in the *terminus ad quem*, or the country to which it led; a ſuppoſition very natural, admitting the road might be afterwards carried on further northward, for this is directly the caſe with the other Ikenild-ſtreet, which paſſing from London to the *Iceni* of Norfolk, was for that reaſon called the Ikenild-ſtreet.

I have all along ſuppoſed in this little debate, that the *Iceni* intended by Tacitus were thoſe of the northern parts, otherwiſe known by the name of *Coitanni*, which makes it neceſſary for me to take notice of the following objection. The *Iceni*, whom Tacitus mentions, muſt, in appearance, be the ſame with thoſe of Norfolk, &c. for in the ſame place he ſpeaks of *a colony* of veterans poſted at *Camalodunum* (a city of the *Trinobantes*, next neighbours to the *Iceni* of Norfolk, &c.) to repreſs the rebel Britons upon all occaſions, which were drawn out at that time againſt the *Silures*. To this difficulty Dr. Plot replies, there were two *Camalodunums*, one in the country of the *Trinobantes*, and another in the territories of the *Cornavii* or *Cangi*, about the ſouth part of Cheſhire, whence he might much more probably draw out theſe veteran ſoldiers, being much nearer to the *Silures*, than from the *Camalodunum* of the *Trinobantes*. But this I doubt is an inſufficient anſwer; Ptolemy very clearly places this other *Camulodunum* amongſt the *Brigantes*, and not amongſt

the *Cornavii* or *Cangi*; for which reaſon Mr. Baxter very juſtly looks for it amongſt that people, taking it to be Old Malton (1), as Dr. Gale eſteems it to be more truly Almonbury (2), otherwiſe called *Camboduńum*. It is very plain to me that *Camboduńum*, and *Camulodunum*, are the ſame place, though Mr. Baxter is ſo deſirous of making them different (3); for what Ptolemy and the geographer of Ravenna called by the latter name, Richard of Cirenceſter calls by the firſt (4). Beſides, Tacitus calls the place *a colony*, which plainly indicates the *Camalodunum* of the *Trinobantes*, the other *Camulodunum* not enjoying that honour. I would, therefore, rather ſay, that this objection is of no weight, ſince the veterans of the colony at *Camulodunum* of the *Trinobantes* might be drawn out from thence againſt the *Silures*, which lay almoſt in a ſtrait line from them, whilſt Oſtorius was warring againſt the *Iceni* north of the *Auſona*, and the *Cangi*. I therefore conclude, this objection notwithſtanding, that the *Iceni* here meant were the northern *Iceni* or the *Coitanni*; and, in regard to Dr. Plot, that there were no *Iceni* either in Staffordſhire or Worceſterſhire.

(1) Baxteri Gloſſ. p. 64.
(2) Gale in his edition of the geographer of Ravenna.
(3) Gloſſ. p. 62. and 64.
(4) Richard of Cirenceſter, p. 27.

N. B. *In the* Addenda *to the* Diſſertation on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 111. Claſs V. d. *where it is ſaid that the* Griffin *is ſacred to* Mars; *add*, not only to *Mars*, but to *Apello* alſo, as appears from Montfaucon, Antiq. paſſim, and from Spanheim, De uſu & præſtant. Num. vol. I. ed. fol. p. 270, 271, 272. — And that the latter deity was in high eſteem with Cunobelin, is remarked above, p. 43. 80. 93.

F I N I S.

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